

Series, No. 37, Vol. X.]

1930

[Published Quarter

THE LIBRARY

EDITED BY
J. W. MACALISTER
F.R.S.

JANUARY
1900



THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION was founded in 1877, and in 1898 received a Royal Charter in recognition of the value of its public work. The membership of the Association is not confined to Librarians. Its main objects are to unite all persons engaged or interested in Library Administration or in Bibliographical Research. For this purpose it has instituted classes in Librarianship and Bibliography, holds examinations in the above subjects, and issues certificates which are now recognized as essential qualifications for appointments as Library Assistants or Librarians. The annual subscription is one guinea, in return for which the Member receives the monthly organ of the Association, is entitled to the free use of the lending library maintained by the Association, and to attend its monthly and special meetings. For membership forms apply to

Mrs. REILLY, 24, Whitechapel Street, W.C.

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION RECORD.

CONTENTS OF DECEMBER NUMBER, 1908.

CURRENT VIEWS.

VILLAGE LIBRARIES:

The Westmoreland Scheme. By J. WILSON BROWN.
The Isle of Wight Scheme. By A. W. KEMP.

THE INTERIOR DECORATION OF LIBRARIES. By WILFRED WALTER.

SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF LIBRARY CO-OPERATION.

By E. A. BAKER.

PROFESSIONAL PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

OBITUARY.

ABSTRACTS OF LIBRARY REPORTS.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION: PROCEEDINGS AND OFFICIAL NOTICES:

COUNCIL WORK.

LIBRARY ASSISTANTS' ASSOCIATION

NOVEMBER MEETING.

MESSRS. ELLIS

Dealers in OLD and RARE BOOKS, MANUSCRIPTS and ENGRAVINGS
29 NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W.

(Business established by John Brindley in 1723)

LIBRARIES arranged and catalogued; large or small collections of old Books purchased; Rare Books and Prints searched for and reported;
SALES BY AUCTION attended and commissions carefully executed;
all descriptions of **BOOK-BINDING** and repairs to old books undertaken and carried out by the most skillful craftsmen; London Agents for the **VELLUCENT** Bindings of Messrs. Cedric Chivers, of Bath; Sole British Agents for the facsimile reproductions of those two famous MSS. the **BREVIARIUM GRIMANI**, of Venice, and the **HORTULUS ANIMÆ**, of Vienna; **CATALOGUES** of new purchases issued periodically; inspection of the stock invited.

"DUSTOLIO" REGD.

The Highest Achievement in Sanitary Science for Libraries, etc.

"DUSTOLIO" may safely claim to be the **ONLY** dust allayer which not only keeps a floor in a clean and **DUSTLESS** condition, but which disinfects and sweetens the atmosphere and absolutely destroys all **GERM** life found in the dust, thus preventing contagion and disease. **DUSTOLIO** lasts three months, requires no washing, but sweeping with a hard broom only. For full particulars, prices, etc., apply to

THE SANITARY FLOOR CO., 177 Temple Chambers, E.C.

Contractors to the Postal Authorities, the Office of Works, the War Office, and many large Firms, Schools, Colleges and Libraries, etc.

ter
not
in
ted
men
ary
the
ing
For

c

ON.

ES:

S

old
ed;
ed;
er-
the
ish
the
US
ned

D.

not
in-
life
IO
om

arge



THE LIBRARY.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

THE Bibliography of Milton begins with a blank and a puzzle. The blank is due to the loss of a printed fly-sheet, which probably bore the imprint 'Cantabrigiæ, ex academiæ celeberrimæ typographeo,' containing some Latin verses which Milton composed for distribution among the Doctors present at the Philosophical Act in June, 1628. One of the Senior Fellows of his college was the respondent on this occasion, and the verses were apparently written in his name. They may survive in the lines printed in the editions of 1645 and 1673, under the title, 'Naturam non pati senium,' but in their original form they are believed to have perished utterly. That they ever existed is now only known from a reference to them in a Latin letter from Milton to Alexander Gill the younger, his former master at St. Paul's School, dated from Cambridge on 2nd July, 1628.

The puzzle is concerned with some lines of much greater interest than these academical verses, the 'Epitaph to the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W.

2 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Shakespeare,' prefixed to the Second Folio. As they stand there the lines read (punctuation corrected):

What neede my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones
The labour of an Age, in piled stones?
Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid
Vnder a starre-ypointing Pyramid?
Deare Sonne of Memory, great Heire of Fame,
What needst thou such dull witsnesse of thy Name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument:
For whil'st to the shame of slow-endavouring Art,
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Booke
Those Delphicke Lines with deepe Impression tooke,
Then thou, our fancy of her selfe bereaving,
Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,
And so Sepulcher'd in such pompe dost lie
That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die.

When this text is collated with that printed in Milton's collected poems published in 1645 five differences will be found, *neede* in l. 1 being corrected into *needs*, and *part* in l. 10 to *heart*, while for *dull* in l. 6 we find *weak*, for *lasting* in l. 8 *live-long*, and for *her selfe* in l. 13 *itself*. Against the poem in the collected edition is placed the date 1630, and the puzzle is whether in 1645 Milton was reprinting what he had actually written in 1630, or whether he was revising the text which had appeared in 1632, and merely affixed the date 1630 as that of first composition. The superiority of the readings in the 1630-45 text makes for the latter supposition, but there are few of Milton's shorter poems of which it would be more interest-

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 3

ing to have the full history. He was either twenty-one, or less probably just twenty-two, when he wrote it, and we find him not only free from the Puritan scruples about the theatre by which men like Prynne were moved ('L'Allegro' reveals as much as this), but sufficiently in touch with the dramatic and literary world either to offer his poem to the publishers of the Second Folio or to have it requisitioned by them. From a date being affixed to the poem one might surmise that it was written for a special occasion, but I know no probable suggestion as to what this may have been.

The verses to Shakespeare are unsigned.¹ Had they not been reprinted in the volume of 1645 it would have needed a critic of more than ordinary acumen to detect their authorship. Milton's name is also absent from the 'Maske presented at Ludlow Castle,' to which Warton in an evil hour gave the name of 'Comus,'² by which it has been known ever since. Its full title reads:

A Maske presented At Ludlow Castle, 1634: On Michaelmasse night before the Right Honorable, Iohn Earle of Bridgewater, Vicount Brackly, Lord Præsident of Wales, And one of His Maiesties most honorable

¹ Mr. Aldis Wright in his edition of Milton for the Cambridge University Press (1903) says that the Epitaph is signed with the initials J. M. This appears to be a confusion with the verses beginning, 'We wondred (Shakespeare) that thou wentst so soon,' which are thus signed, J. M. in that case standing for James Mabbe, or may be due to the fact that the lines were signed with Milton's initials when reprinted in Shakespeare's Poems of 1640.

² As Mr. Greg suggests in his 'Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Drama,' had the 'Maske' been given a name by its author it would probably have been called The Triumph of Virtue, or by some similar title, certainly not after the villain of the piece.

4 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Privie Counsell. [Motto:] Eheu quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum Perditus.—London, printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the signe of the Three Pidgeons in Pauls Church-yard. 1637.

The motto on the title-page (it is strange how often bibliographers omit mottoes as if they were meaningless) is taken from Virgil's 'Second Eclogue' and reminds us that in November of the year which saw the publication of the 'Maske,' Milton was already engaged on 'Lycidas,' in the opening lines of which something of the same sentiment is expressed. It also shows, since it was clearly chosen by Milton, that the book was brought out with his consent. Its publication, however, was due to the composer, Henry Lawes, who writes in his dedication to the young Lord Brackley, the Earl's eldest son, who had taken part in the performance: 'Although not openly acknowledg'd by the Author, yet it is a legitimate offspring, so lovely and so much desir'd that the often copying of it hath tir'd my pen to give my severall friends satisfaction, and brought to me a necessitie of producing it to the publick view.' Milton reprinted this dedication in the volume of 1645, and added to it the letter in which Sir Henry Wotton thanked him for the presentation copy, which he had despatched just before starting for Italy. To be praised by the Provost of Eton for 'a certain Doric delicacy in your Songs and Odes, whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language,' was still a pleasure to Milton in 1645, but in the reprint of 1673, both Lawes's dedication and Wotton's letter disappear.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 5

After the 'Maske' came 'Lycidas,' published in 1638 in a memorial volume in two parts, the first containing twenty-three Latin and Greek pieces, the second thirteen in English, of which Milton's was the last. The general title-page is in Latin, and reads:

Justa Edovardo King naufrago ab Amicis mœrentibus amoris & *μυείας χάριν*. [Motto:] Si recte calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est. Pet. Arb. Cantabrigiæ: Apud Thomam Buck, & Rogerum Daniel, celeberrimæ Academiæ typographos. 1638.

This title-page is followed by a curious Latin note, chiefly occupied by a recital of the virtues, and above all the dignity, of the distinguished Irish relatives, to visit whom Edward King was led to embark on his fatal voyage. It narrates, however, that when the ship had struck, King fell on his knees and was drowned in the act of prayer, while the other passengers vainly tried to save themselves,¹ though it is obvious that some of them must have succeeded or there would have been no one to relate his end.

To the English verses there is prefixed a second title surrounded with a mourning border. It reads:

Obsequies to the memorie of Mr. Edward King, Anno. Dom. 1638. Printed by Th. Buck and R. Daniel, printers to the Vniversitie of Cambridge, 1638.

¹ Navi in scopulum allisa, et rimis ex ictu fatiscente, dum altis vectores vitæ mortalis frustra satagerent, immortalem anhelans, in genua provolutus oransque, una cum navigio ab aquis absorptus, animam deo reddidit; IIII. id. sextileis; anno salutis MDCXXXVII.; ætatis XXV.

6 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

A copy (of the English part only) in the British Museum has a missing line (l. 177: 'In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love') restored and two smaller corrections noted in a handwriting which is certainly very like Milton's, and may quite possibly be his.

The original draft of 'Lycidas,' as of 'Comus,' is among the treasures of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, to which they were presented at the end of the eighteenth century. They are in good keeping, though I could wish them elsewhere. Yet if it were desired to cry 'sour grapes,' there would be good authority for doing so. In his essay on 'Oxford in the Vacation,' Charles Lamb wrote, 'Still less have I curiosity to disturb the elder repose of MSS. Those *variae lectiones*, so tempting to the more erudite palates, do but disturb and unsettle my faith.' As the essay originally appeared in the 'London Magazine' there was a footnote at this point, dealing with this very manuscript:

There is something to me repugnant, at any time, in written hand. The text never seems determinate. Print settles it. I had thought of the 'Lycidas' as of a full-grown beauty—as springing up with all its parts absolute—till, in an evil hour, I was shown the original written copy of it, together with the other minor poems of its author, in the Library of Trinity, kept like some treasure to be proud of. I wish they had thrown them in the Cam, or sent them, after the latter cantos of Spenser, into the Irish Channel. How it staggered me to see the fine things in their ore! interlined, corrected! as if their words were mortal, alterable, displaceable at pleasure! as if they might have been otherwise, and just as good! as if inspirations were made up of parts, and those fluctuating,

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 7

successive, indifferent! I will never go into the workshop of any great artist again, nor desire a sight of his picture, till it is fairly off the easel; no, not if Raphael were to be alive again, and painting another Galatea.

The outburst is so thoroughly characteristic of Lamb that it is surprising he suppressed it. Mr. Lucas, however, thinks, with good reason, that it was Lamb who subsequently quoted, also in the 'London Magazine,' a cancelled passage from 'Comus' from the same manuscript, and if so he may well have felt that he had no right to abuse what he had used.

'Lycidas' probably appeared in print shortly before Milton started for Italy in April 1638. His return about July, 1639, was hastened by the news, which reached him at Naples, that the clouds of civil strife were fast gathering in England, but for two years after he came home he did nothing of which we know. His genius seems always to have needed some external spark to ignite it, and the spark was not supplied until the controversy concerning Church Government arose, in which Milton's old tutor, Thomas Young, took part as one of the Presbyterian ministers, whose initials were used to form the uncouth *nom-de-guerre* Smectymnuus. How deeply Milton felt on this question had already been shown in the passage in 'Lycidas' (ll. 108-31), in which 'the Pilot of the Galilean Lake' threatens with vengeance the 'blind mouths' that 'creep and intrude and climb into the fold.' Aesthetic critics have lamented the introduction of these lines as jarring with the rest of the poem. To the mere bibliographer, straying for a moment

8 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

from his proper subject, they give it a reality and intensity which materially enhances the general effect. To put St. Peter on a level with Camus was, of course, heretical; but it may be doubted whether any New Testament saint possessed a living personality in Milton's eyes. He takes him, mitre and keys included, merely as a symbolic mouthpiece for his own vehement thoughts. A like vehemence is prominent in the five prose tracts which he sent hurtling against the High Church controversialists in 1641 and 1642. To understand the five titles which are printed in full below, it must be noted that the controversy began with Bishop Hall's defence of episcopacy, entitled 'An humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament by A dutifull sonne of the Church' (1640), to which the Smectymnuan ministers wrote an answer, which Milton's first pamphlet backed up. His second was in reply to an appeal to antiquity, put forward by Archbishop Usher in support of Bishop Hall. Then came Hall's own rejoinder, 'A defence of the Humble Remonstrance, Against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus,' answered by Smectymnuus with a 'Vindication,' and by Milton in his 'Animadversions.' Each of these drew a reply from Hall, that to Milton's taking the form of 'A Modest Confutation of a Slandorous and Scurrilous Libell entitled Animadversions,' etc., itself a grossly scurrilous attack, in which the Bishop was helped by his son. Milton's last pamphlet was in reply to this, while his penultimate one, 'The Reason of Church government urg'd against Prelaty,' to which alone he put his name,

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 9

was of a more detached character. Here are the five titles in full :

Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England: and the Causes that hitherto have hindred it. Two bookes, written to a Freind. Printed, for Thomas Vnderhill 1641.

Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and Whither it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical times by vertue of those Testimonies which are alledg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises: One whereof goes under the Name of Iames Arch-bishop of Armagh. London, Printed by R. O. & G. D. for Thomas Vnderhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible, in Wood-Street, 1641.

Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence, against Smeectymnuus. London, Printed for Thomas Vnderhill, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Bible in Woodstreet, 1641.

The Reason of Church-government Urg'd against Prelaty By Mr. John Milton. In two Books. London, Printed by E. G. for Iohn Rothwell, and are to be sold at the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard, 1641.

An Apology against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smeectymnuus. London, Printed by E. G. for Iohn Rothwell, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard. 1642.

The copies of these traçts in the British Museum all belong to the wonderful collection of small books, pamphlets, and fly-sheets, formed by George Thomason, a Presbyterian bookseller, with whom Milton at this time seems to have grown sufficiently intimate to give him, now and again, such of his works as he may have guessed would be to the good bookseller's taste. The first of the series

10 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

passes without annotation by Thomason. On the second he notes, 'By John Milton'; on the third, more respectfully, 'Written by Mr. John Milton'; on the fourth there is the presentation inscription 'Ex Dono Authoris'; and on the fifth this is combined with a note of authorship 'by Mr. Milton Ex dono Authoris.'

Thomason's date on the next of Milton's prose pamphlets serves to heighten a story, in itself strange enough. Some time in May, 1643, Milton went into Buckinghamshire with some slight degree of secrecy, and returned with a young wife, the daughter of a cavalier squire, who had long been in debt to himself and his father. According to Thomason, it was on the first day of the following August that a pamphlet was on sale bearing the title:

The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce: restor'd to the good of both sexes, From the bondage of Canon Law, and other mistakes, to Christian freedom, guided by the Rule of Charity. Wherein also many places of Scripture, have recover'd their long-lost meaning. Seasonable to be now thought on in the Reformation intended. [Quotation:] Matt. 13. 52. Every Scribe instructed to the Kingdome of Heav'n is like the Maister of a house which bringeth out of his treasure things old and new. London, Printed by T. P. and M. S. In Goldsmiths Alley. 1643.

This was published anonymously, but the next year Milton brought out a revised and enlarged edition, and signed an introductory letter, 'To the Parliament,' with his name in full. In 1644 also he published a second tract:

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 11

The Iudgement of Martin Bucer, concerning Divorce. Written to Edward the Sixt, in his second Book of the Kingdom of Christ. And now Englisht. Wherin a late Book restoring the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, is heer confirm'd and justify'd by the authoritie of Martin Bucer. To the Parlament of England. [Quotation:] John 3. 10. Art thou a teacher of Israel, and know'st not these things? Publisht by Authoritie. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons, 1644.

This, though anonymous on its title-page, contains Milton's name in its text. On 13th August, about a month after its appearance, Milton was publicly denounced in 'The Glasse of God's Providence towards His faithfull ones Held forth in a sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament' on that day by Herbert Palmer, a Bachelor of Divinity. Other attacks followed in William Prynne's 'Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government'; in a pamphlet by Dr. Daniel Featley with the charming title, 'The Dippers dipt, or The Anabaptists duk'd and plung'd over head and eares at a Disputation in Southwark'; and finally in November in an anonymous criticism, entitled 'An answer to a Book, Intituled, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce or, A Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Married Women against Divorce.' To this the licensing minister, Joseph Caryl, granted not only an Imprimatur, but an Approbation, and this double attack drew from Milton his

Colasterion': a Reply to a nameles answer against The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. Wherein the trivial

¹ *κολαστήριον*, punishment.

12 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Author of that Answer is discover'd, the Licencer conferr'd with, and the Opinion which they traduce defended. By the former Author, J. M. [Quotation:] Prov. 26. 5. Answer a Fool according to his folly, lest hee bee wise in his own conceit. Printed in the Year, 1645.

This was on sale on 4th March, 1645, and on the same day, according to Thomason, another pamphlet with a Greek title was also purchaseable:

Tetrachordon: Expositions upon the foure chief places in Scripture, which treat of Mariage, or nullities in Mariage. On Gen. 1. 27. 28. compar'd and explain'd by Gen. 2. 18. 23. 24. Deut. 24. 1. 2. Matth. 5. 31. 32. with Matth. 19. from the 3d. v. to the 11th. 1 Cor. 7. from the 10th to the 16th. Wherin the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, as was lately publish'd, is confirm'd by explanation of Scripture, by testimony of ancient Fathers, of civill lawes in the Primitive Church, of famousest Reformed Divines, And lastly, by an intended Act of the Parlament and Church of England in the last yeare of Edward the Sixth. By the former Author J. M. [Quotation:]

—Σκαιῶσι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ
Δόξεις ἀχρεῖος, κὺν σοφὸς πεφυκέναι·
Τῶν δ' αὖ δοκούντων εἶδέναι τι ποικίλον,
Κρείσων νομοσθεῖς ἐν πόλει, λυπρὸς φανῇ.

Euripid. Medea.

London: Printed in the yeare 1645.

In 1645, moreover, his original treatise was twice reprinted, and Milton was actually contemplating another marriage, which would certainly have produced many more pamphlets, when on entering a friend's house he was encountered by his luckless wife, who dutifully went down on her knees and begged his forgiveness, the reconcilia-

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 13

tion which rewarded this meekness bringing the divorce pamphlets to a rather humorous conclusion.

Meanwhile, however, they had led to a pamphlet of another kind. The 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce' had not only been written anonymously, but had never been licensed or registered, although a Presbyterian censorship had been set up by an Ordinance of Parliament dated 14th June, 1643. On 24th August, 1644, twelve days after the Rev. Herbert Palmer's sermon, the Company of Stationers petitioned Parliament to call Milton to account, and the matter was referred to a Committee, which seems never to have made any report. The attempt to muzzle him, however, was enough for Milton, and exactly three months later he presented his friend Thomason (on whom he did *not* bestow his pamphlets about divorce) with the most famous of his prose tracts:

Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton For the Liberty of Vnlicenc'd Printing, To the Parlament of England. [Quotation:]

Τούλευθερον δ' ἐκείνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρηστόν τι βούλευμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὃ χρῆζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ, ὃ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγῇ, τί τούτων ἐστὶν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

Euripid. Hicetid.

This is true Liberty when free born men
Having to advise the public may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State then this?

Euripid. Hicetid.

London. Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

14 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

This, like the 'Colasterion' and 'Tetrachordon,' appeared with no name either of printer or publisher, and no research, as far as I know, has been made into its typographical authorship. Unless they were afraid to face the wrath of the Stationers' Company, Milton would naturally resort to his neighbours in Goldsmith Alley, Cripplegate, T. P. and M. S., who had brought out his first Divorce tract for him, and who may safely be identified with Thomas Payne and Matthew Simmons. For another pamphlet of this year, the little eight-page treatise, 'Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib,' Milton had gone back to an earlier publisher, Thomas Underhill. This we know from the licensing entry (4th June, 1644), the tract itself being without title-page. Its rarity and the sacred word Education make this the most expensive of Milton's prose works to the collector, a copy having sold in 1901 for as much as £74 10s. Its educational value is not high, for its curriculum is drawn up for a boy with the appetite for learning of Milton himself, and explains the frequent sounds of wailing by which the first Mrs. Milton was disturbed while the poet was acting as schoolmaster to his nephews. At the end of this string of prose pamphlets on church government, divorce, the freedom of the press, and education comes the first collected edition of Milton's Poems:

Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Maiesties Private Musick. [Quot.]—Baccare frontem Cingite, ne

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 15

vati noceat mala lingua futuro, Virgil, Eclog. 7. Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1645.

The volume contains first the English poems, the Nativity Ode, ten sonnets (English and Italian), 'L'Allegro,' 'Il Penseroso,' 'Lycidas,' and smaller pieces, followed by 'Comus,' with continuous pagination but a separate title-page: 'A Mask of the same Author Presented at Ludlow-Castle, 1634. Before the Earl of Bridgwater then President of Wales. Anno Dom. 1645.' The Latin poems have separate pagination and title-page: 'Joannis Miltoni Londinensis Poemata. Quorum pleraque intra Annum ætatis vigesimum conscripsit. Nunc-primum edita. Londini Typis R. R. Prostant ad Insignia Principis, in Cæmeterio D. Pauli, apud Humphredum Moseley 1645.' They appear to have been occasionally sold separately.

Facing the general title-page was the unhappy engraved portrait of Milton in his twenty-first year, copied by William Marshall from a painting of that date. The engraver never acquitted himself worse, and in revenge for being made to look like a raw-boned chimney-sweep, Milton treacherously persuaded him to cut beneath it the epigram:

Ἀμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα
Φαίης τάχ' ἂν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφύεις βλέπων
Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπωτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες φίλοι,
Γελάτε φαύλου δυσμήμημα ζωγράφου,

which has been Englished:

16 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Unskilled the hand that such a print could trace
Quickly you'll say who see the man's true face ;
Friends, if for whom it stands you ne'er had dreamt,
Laugh at the wretched artist's poor attempt.

It would be interesting to know whether Humphrey Moseley himself pleased Milton much better by the following commendatory letter :

THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

It is not any private respect of gain, Gentle Reader, for the slightest Pamphlet is nowadayes more vendible than the Works of Learnedest men ; but it is the love I have to our own Language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such Peeces both in Prose and Vers, as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue: and it's the worth of these both English and Latin Poems, not the flourish of any prefixed encomiums that can invite thee to buy them, though these are not without the highest Commendations and Applause of the learnedst Academicks, both domestick and forein: And amongst those of our own Country, the unparallel'd attestation of that renowned Provost of Eaton, SIR HENRY WOOTTON: I know not thy palat how it relishes such dainties, nor how harmonious thy soul is; perhaps more trivial Airs may please thee better. But howsoever thy opinion is spent upon these, that incouragement I have already received from the most ingenious men in their clear and courteous entertainment of Mr. WALLER's late choice Peeces, hath once more made me adventure into the World, presenting it with these, ever-green, and not to be blasted Laurels. The Authors more peculiar excellency in these studies, was too well known to conceal his Papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the age by bringing into the Light as true a Birth as the Muses have brought forth since our

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 17

famous SPENCER wrote; whose Poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excell'd. Reader, if thou art Eagle-cied to censure their worth, I am not fearful to expose them to thy exactest perusal.

Thine to command,

HUMPH. MOSELEY.

The volume was registered on 6th October, 1645, but Thomason only bought it on 2nd January of the following year. In 1653, in a list of 140 books published by Moseley, it comes sixty-sixth, so that it was clearly then still on sale. No new edition was printed till 1673.

After his activity as a pamphleteer from 1641 to the beginning of 1645, Milton remained silent for nearly four years, publishing nothing but a commendatory sonnet in the 'Choice Psalmes put into Musick for three voices. Compos'd by Henry and William Lawes,' printed in 1648. At last the Presbyterian revolt against the trial and impending execution of Charles I. aroused him, and he embarked on another period of feverish production which cost him his eyesight. The latter half of the title of the first of his new pamphlets shows its real aim:

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is Lawfull, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any, who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and after due conviction, to depose, and put him to death; if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or deny'd to doe it. And that they, who of late, so much blame Depositing, are the men that did it themselves. The Author J. M. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons at the Gilded Lyon in Aldersgate Street, 1649.

x.

c

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

18 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Effective enough against the Presbyterians shrinking from the result of their own actions, Milton's pamphlet did little to allay the horror which the greater part of the nation felt at the execution of the king. Quick, moreover, as he had been, the Royalist presses had been quicker. Thomason bought his copy of 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' on 13th February, just a fortnight after the king's death, but 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, The Pourtraiture of His Sacred Maiestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings' had been published at least four days earlier, and was to go through some fifty editions within a twelvemonth.¹ To secure Milton's services he was made Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Commonwealth, and by 6th October (Thomason's date) he had produced painfully and with some reluctance (since he did not fail to see how invidious it was 'to descant on the misfortunes of a person fallen from so high a dignity, who hath also paid his final debt both to nature and his faults') perhaps the least successful of all his tracts:

Εἰκονοκλάστης in Answer to a Book Intitil'd Εικὼν Βασιλική, The Portrature of his Sacred Maiesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings. The Author I. M. [Quotations: Prov. 28. 15. 16. 17. Salust. Conjurat. Catiliis.] Published by Authority. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons next dore to the gilded Lyon in Aldersgate Street. 1649.

Only a month later, in November, 1649, appeared the 'Defensio Regia' of Claudius Salmasius,

¹ 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' in the same period was only once reprinted, when it was said to be 'Published now the second time with some additions, and many Testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among Protestant Divines asserting the position of this book.'

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 19

printed by the firm of Elzevier at Leyden, and published 'Sumptibus Regiis.' On 8th January, 1650, the Council of State ordered 'that Mr. Milton do prepare something in answer to the book of Salmasius, and when he hath done it bring it to the Council,'—for the correction, apparently, either of his arguments or his Latin! On 23rd December the answer was ready and ordered to be printed, and on the 24th William Du Gard, who combined the Mastership of Merchant Taylors' School with a rather pitiful practice in printing, entered it on the Stationers' Register. His arrest had been ordered for printing *Εικὼν Βασιλική*, his presses seized, and the governors of the school ordered to dismiss him. Instead of this they made the very proper suggestion that he should give up his press. He continued, however, in the enjoyment of both his mastership and his printing business by the simple expedient of promising to print Milton's book and generally to do what he was told, whereupon he was appointed printer to 'his Highnes the Lord Protector.' Apparently he got some copies of the 'Defensio' in readiness before 25th March, 1651, since the title-page of the first issue is dated 1650. It reads:

Ioannis Miltoni Angli Pro populo Anglicano Defensio
contra Claudii anonymi, aliàs Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam.
Londini, Typis Du Gardianis, Anno Domini 1650.

At least six editions and a translation into Dutch were published in 1651, and the book gave an immense reputation to the English scholar who had ventured to stand up against the terrible Saumaise,

20 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

with Latin as good and invective as bitter as his own—a poor reward, however, for the final destruction of Milton's eyesight which it brought about. While answering Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ and Saumaise he had, of course, had his official correspondence on his hands, had been engaged in licensing work, distinguishable, but not yet altogether remote from that which he had denounced in 'Areopagitica,' and had even found time in 1649 to write 'Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the Letter of Ormond to Col. Jones, and the Representation of the Presbytery at Belfast,' appended by order of the House of Commons to a reprint of the Articles. Now he contented himself with helping his nephew John Philipps to keep up the controversy. In 1654 and the following year, however, there appeared the two following tracts:

Ioannis MiltonI Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio secunda. Contra infamem libellum anonymum cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus parricidas Anglicanos. Londini, Typis Neucomanianis. 1654.

Ioannis MiltonI Angli pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum Ecclesiasten, libelli famosi, cui titulus Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos, authorem rectè dictum. Londini, Typis Neucomanianis. 1655.

The 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor' had really been written by Peter Du Moulin the younger, but Alexander More, while an inmate of the house of Saumaise, had seen it through the press. His relations with his patron's parlour-maid offered Milton such a savoury topic for Latin abuse, that even after the luckless More had quarrelled with Saumaise

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 21

and was timorously disowning all share in the Du Moulin's pamphlet, Milton persisted in treating him as its true author.

After 1655 Milton was once more silent until in February and August, 1659, he returned to his old subject of Church-government in the following two tracts:

A Treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical causes: shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of Religion. The author J. M. London, Printed by Tho. Newcomb. Anno 1659.

Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Wherein is also discourc'd Of Tithes, Church-fees, Church-revenues; And whether any maintenance of ministers can be settl'd by law. The author J. M. London, Printed by T. N. for L. Chapman at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. 1659.

The British Museum copy of the first of these has both Milton's initials on the title-page and his full signature at the end of the preface, burnt out some ardent opponent. Even in 1659 the movement to restore the monarchy was formidable, and it gained fresh force every month, or every week. Milton tried to stem the rising tide with arguments, publishing in or about the month of March two editions of the following rather forlornly-titled tract:

The Readie & Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth and the Excellence therof Compar'd with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation. The author J. M. London, Printed by T. N. and are to be sold by Livewell Chapman at the Crown in Popes-Head Alley.

22 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

He even condescended to attack a royalist preacher, dictating:

Brief Notes Upon a late Sermon, Titl'd, The Fear of God and the King; Preachd, and since Publishd by Matthew Griffith, D.D. And Chaplain to the late King. Wherin many Notorious Wrestings of Scripture, and other Falsities are observed by J. M. London. Printed in the Year 1660.

The former pamphlet produced a royalist burlesque purporting to be drawn up by order of the extinct Rota Club and 'printed by Paul Giddy, Printer to the Rota, at the signe of the Windmill in Turne-againe Lane'; the latter was answered (anonymously) by Roger L'Estrange under the title, 'No Blinde Guides.' Neither the one nor the other delayed the return of Charles II. by an hour, but it was plucky of Milton to write them.

Milton had to pay for his militant republicanism after the Restoration. He had to hide and suffer imprisonment and loss of money, and one of the chief items in any Appendix to his Bibliography is the Proclamation of 13th August, 1660, ordering his 'Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio' and 'Eikonoklastes' to be burnt by the common hangman. For seven years he kept silence. His next book was 'Paradise Lost.' This was made the subject of a formal contract, perhaps the first of its kind that has been preserved, and if so, a landmark in the annals of English authorship, made with Samuel Simmons, successor of Matthew Simmons, his old publisher. £5 was paid for the poem at once, and three other payments each of £5 were to become due, each after the sale of 1,300 copies.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 23

'Paradise Lost' is notable also in another way, for having been issued during the years 1667, 1668, 1669, with at least six different title-pages, and it has been credited with three more.

The first of these title-pages reads :

Paradise lost. A Poem. Written in Ten Books. By John Milton. Licensed and Entred according to Order. London, Printed; and are to be sold by Peter Parker under Creed Church neer Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Bishopsgate-street; And Matthias Walker, under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1667.

This is surrounded by a double rule, and single rules are printed also above and below the notice of the book having been licensed. Another title agrees exactly with this save that the words 'By John Milton' are in very much smaller type, and the rules are thought to show some signs of use. In the third title the date is altered to 1668, and instead of Milton's name we find the phrase 'The Author J. M.' The changes in the fourth title are much more considerable. It reads :

Paradise lost. A Poem in Ten Books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and to be sold by S. Thomson at the Bishops-Head in Duck-lane, H. Mortlack at the White Hart in Westminster Hall, M. Walker under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet street, and R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Bishopsgate street, 1668.

In the fifth variation the imprint reads 'London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder at the Angel in Little Brittain. 1669'; in the sixth there are changes of type in the words

24 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

London and Angel, and a comma instead of a full stop before the date.

No certain explanation of all these changes¹ has been offered. It must be remembered that Milton had already shown a good deal of fancifulness in putting forth his previous works sometimes anonymously, sometimes under initials, without any real attempt at concealment. On the other hand, the burning out of his name and initials from the British Museum copy of his 'Treatise of Civil Power,' presumably the act of an early purchaser, may be really significant of the feelings with which Milton was regarded by many book-buyers, feelings with which publishers and booksellers would, of course, have to reckon. If so, the restoration of his full name on the title-page and the disappearance of the formal notice, 'Licensed and Entered according to Order,' offer pleasant proof that the splendour of the poem conquered all objections to the personality of its author. Mr. Wynne Baxter explains the fact that the fifth and sixth title-pages are much the commonest by supposing that Helder was a better man of business than the previous salesmen. It is possible that he was, but in any case it is in no way surprising to find the poem selling better in 1669 than in 1667. It is difficult for us to realize how completely Milton's other activities must have obscured any reputation which

¹ Three other varieties are described by Professor Masson, but neither Mr. Wynne Baxter, who has made an exhaustive study of everything which relates to the typography of 'Paradise Lost,' nor Mr. Marshall Lefferts, of New York, who also has made diligent search, has been able to trace more than these six. The British Museum now possesses all but the second variety.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 25

he had gained from poems written nearly thirty, and last published more than twenty, years previously. Even had no political feeling stood in its way, 'Paradise Lost' could hardly have won an immediate success.

Besides the differences in their title-pages the early issues vary in other ways. Those sold at the end of 1668 and in 1669 contain seven additional leaves, inserted to supply readers with the Arguments of each of the ten books in which the poem was at first divided, a statement headed 'The Verse,' and a list of errata. At first, along with the fourth title-page, the Argument was headed by the following ungrammatical note:

The Printer to the Reader. Courteous Reader, There was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, is procured. S. Simmons.

With the fifth title-page we find a revised version of this, which includes also the statement as to 'The Verse':

The Printer to the Reader. Courteous Reader, There was no argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procur'd it, and withall a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not. S. Simmons.

With the appearance of the sixth title-page the note disappears altogether. Besides these changes both the statement about the Verse and the list of Errata were set up twice. There are also a number of small differences in the text of the poem, due, as Mr. Baxter showed in a paper read before the

26 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Bibliographical Society, to the words, letters, or stops being pulled out of their places by the balls used for inking the type, and then replaced with some slight difference. On the other hand the theory which Mr. Sidney Lee has since re-stated¹ without any qualification, that 'the type was long kept standing, and the original edition was issued at intervals extending over fully two years in small batches with altered title-pages,' was shown by Mr. Baxter to be untenable, there being no probability that Simmons had the very considerable quantity of type necessary to print the whole book without one or more intermediate 'distributions,' still less that he could have afforded to keep this mass of type locked up for at least two years.

A second edition of 'Paradise Lost' was printed by Simmons in 1674, 'revised and augmented by the same Author,' and divided into twelve books instead of ten. A third edition followed, rather more quickly, in 1678, and this may have been rather larger than its predecessors, as Simmons settled the claims of Milton's widow by making her a final payment of £8, instead of paying £5 at once and another £5 when the book was again reprinted. Whether there were more copies of it or not, the third edition sufficed to supply the market for ten years. In 1680, about the time that he made his final settlement with Mrs. Milton, Simmons had sold the copyright to another of Milton's publishers, Brabazon Aylmer, and in August, 1683, Aylmer sold half of it, at a profit, to

¹ 'Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies: a census of extant copies.' 1902. Page 7.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 27

Jacob Tonson, who had then been in business only quite a few years. On 24th March, 1690, Tonson acquired the other half also, it is said from Aylmer, though when the fourth edition appeared, in 1688, not Aylmer, but Richard Bently figures as his coproprietor. This fourth edition was very unlike its predecessors, being a handsome folio, with an engraving to each book, mostly by Michael Burghers, after B. de Medina. It ends with an imposing list of 'The Nobility and Gentry that encourag'd by subscription the printing of this edition,' and the names, which include Dryden, Waller, Somers, Atterbury, and Roger L'Estrange, show that the honour done to Milton was purely literary, and not, as might be thought from the accident of the date, inspired by any political motive. The engravings were used again for the first edition of Milton's 'Poetical Works' seven years later, and were taken as models for the illustrations in subsequent smaller editions. No other illustrated edition of any importance was published till 1794, when three huge volumes, with numerous engravings after Westall, were brought out at the expense of John and Josiah Boydell and George Nichol. In 1732 Richard Bentley gave himself into the hands of his enemies by publishing a text full of unneeded emendations and corrections based on a wholly fanciful theory that Milton's text had been tampered with. His alteration of 'No light but rather darkness visible,' into 'No light but rather a transpicuous gloom,' is a striking example of the fatuity of classical scholars when let loose upon poetry. Thomas Newton, afterwards Bishop of Bristol,

28 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

showed much greater wisdom in his fine edition in two quarto volumes in 1749, going back for his text to the editions printed during Milton's life, and illustrating it with 'notes of various authors.' The only other notable editions during the eighteenth century were those published by Baskerville, in 1758-59, at Birmingham, and by Robert and Andrew Foulis, in 1770, at Glasgow, as specimens of fine printing.

'Paradise Lost' has carried us far afield. When we come back to first editions we find that its success must have been taken as proof that Milton was no longer an unsafe man to deal with. In 1669 Simmons brought out a little book which Milton had probably written years before when engaged in teaching:

Accedence Commenc't Grammar, Supply'd with Sufficient Rules for the use of such as, Younger or Elder, are desirous, without more trouble then needs, to attain the Latin tongue, the elder sort especially, with little teaching, and their own industry. By John Milton. London, Printed for S. S. and are to be sold by John Starkey at the Miter in Fleet-street, near Temple bar. 1669.

In another issue (as if to bring all theories to naught) Milton's name is reduced to initials, while the publisher's is given in full, the imprint running, 'Printed by S. Simmons next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street.' The address to the Reader, it may be noted, begins with a sentence which might come from a circular of the English Association: 'It hath long been a general complaint . . . that the tenth part of man's life is taken up in

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 29

learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin tongue.' The 'Accidence' was followed the next year by

The History of Britain, that part especially now call'd England. From the first Traditional Beginning, continu'd to the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the Antientest and best Authours thereof by John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for James Allestry, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1770.

This, though still interesting for its digressions, is valued chiefly for its frontispiece, the fine engraving of Milton in his 62nd year, drawn and engraved 'ad vivum' by William Faithorne, the most capable English portrait engraver of the century. In 1671 we have a new issue of the 'History,' the title-page bearing the name and address of Spencer Hickman, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1671, to take the place of those of Allestry, who had died. But we have also a much more notable book:

Paradise Regain'd. A Poem In 12 Books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet street, near Temple-Bar. 1671.

This, however, is a rather flagrant instance of post-dating, as the date of licensing, 2nd July, 1670, which faces its title-page, of itself might suggest. From the Term Catalogues we learn that the book was on sale in Michaelmas Term, 1670, at the price of four shillings (a shilling more than was charged for 'Paradise Lost'), so there was no excuse for giving it the date of the succeeding year. The imprint and date are repeated on the separate

30 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

title prefixed to 'Samson,' the body of which reads:

Samson Agonistes, A dramatic poem. The Author John Milton. Aristot. Poet. Cap. 6. *Τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας*, &c. *Tragœdia est imitatio actionis seriæ*, &c. *Per misericordiam & metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.*

Following this is a note, 'Of that sort of dramatic poem called Tragedy,' and also an Argument and list of 'The Persons.'

In 1672 came another small text-book, with an imitation by W. Dolle of Faithorne's engraving:

Ioannis Miltoni Angli Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata. Adjecta est Praxis Analytica & Petri Rami vita. Libris duobus. Londini, Impensis Spencer Hickman, Societatis Regalis Typographi ad insigne Rosæ in Cœmeterio D. Pauli. 1672.

In 1673 followed a new edition of his minor poems:

Poems &c. upon Several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton. Both English and Latin &c. Compos'd at several times. With a small tractate of Education To Mr. Hartlib. London, Printed for Tho. Dring at the White Lion next Chancery Lane End, in Fleet-street. 1673.

This included all the minor poems save the four political sonnets (on Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and the second to Cyriac Skinner) which had to wait for the Revolution and the piety of Milton's nephew in 1694.

It would not have hurt Milton's reputation had the new edition of his minor poems been his only

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 31

publication in 1673. But the outcry against Popery reawakened his old pamphleteering energy, and he brought out an unworthy anti-Catholic tract, on which no publisher apparently cared to put his name:

Of True Religion, Hæresie, Schism, Toleration. And what best means may be us'd against the growth of Popery. The Author J. M. London, Printed in the Year 1673.

In 1674, the last year of Milton's life, Brabazon Aylmer, who afterwards speculated in the copy-right of 'Paradise Lost,' brought out a little Latin book:

Joannis Miltonii Angli, Epistolarum Familiarium liber unus: quibus accesserunt, Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis, Prolusiones quædam oratoriæ. Londini, Impensis Brabazoni Aylmeri sub Signo Trium Columnarum Via vulgo Cornhill dicta, An. Dom. 1674.

In a Latin preface he explains that having failed to obtain a licence for printing Milton's official Latin letters he had filled up his volume with some of his college exercises obtained by help of a friend. About the same time there was published a curious piece of journalism for an old and blind man to undertake, but the attribution of which to Milton—it is anonymous—appears to be well established.

A Declaration, or Letters Patents of the Election of the present King of Poland John the Third. Elected on the 22^d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674 . . . Now faithfully translated from the Latin copy. London Printed for Brabazon Aylmer at the Three Pigeons in Cornhil. 1674.

32 THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.

Of this, as of the 'Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon' of 1660, the British Museum possesses no copy, and I am indebted for the titles of them, as well as for some other hints, to the excellent 'Catalogue of the Exhibits' at the Milton Tercentenary Celebration at the Stoke Newington Public Library, the work, no doubt, of its erudite Chairman, Mr. Baxter, by whom most of the books were lent.

After the death of Milton on 8th November, 1674, his official Latin letters were surreptitiously printed in 1676, without place or name of printer. In 1682 there appeared:

A Brief History of Moscovia and of other lessknown Countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay. Gather'd from the writings of several eye-witnesses. By John Milton. London Printed by M. Flesher, for Brabazon Aylmer at the Three Pigeons against the Royal Exchange. 1682.

According to an Advertisement prefixed to it, 'This book was writ by the Authour's own hand, before he lost his sight. And sometime before his death dispos'd of it to be printed. But it being small, the Bookseller hop'd to have procur'd some other suitable Piece of the same Authour's to have ioyn'd with it, or else it had been publish'd 'ere now.' The most interesting unprinted manuscript which Milton had left behind him, his 'De Doctrina Christiana,' remained unpublished till 1825, when an edition and translation by the Rev. Charles Richard Sumner, George IV.'s librarian, were set forth by the king's command. The manuscript appears to have been submitted soon

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON. 33

after Milton's death to the Government, together with a transcript of his official Latin letters, by Daniel Skinner, in the vain hope of obtaining leave to publish them, and to have remained in the State Paper Office till 1823. When it appeared in an expensive edition under royal patronage two years later, the '*De Doctrina Christiana*' may have agitated some learned minds, but Milton's reputation had had a century and a half in which to grow. The world is certainly the poorer by not having witnessed the effect of his elaborate vindication of polygamy on the Nonconformist conscience of his own day.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

THE WILL OF GEORGE THOMASON.

THE Will of George Thomason, whose notes on many of Milton's pamphlets have been mentioned in the previous article, has been often quoted from and referred to, but has never been printed in full. It seems worth while to pay it this compliment, both for the real interest which it possesses in its own right and for the information which it gives as to the 'Civil War Tracts,' which he spent so much time and money in bringing together, and as to the pecuniary value which he set on them. It appears from the codicils to the Will that the old man came to regard the 'Tracts' as his chief asset. We have no information as to price which his executors received from Samuel Mearne who was commanded by Charles II. to buy them, without receiving any grant for the purpose. A century later the 'Tracts' were acquired by George III. for the British Museum at a cost of £300, whereas in his latest codicil Thomason burdened them with two legacies of £600 each, and obviously thought that there would be a considerable balance for division among his residuary legatees. Except for the expansion of a single contraction the Will is printed exactly as it stands. (P.C.C. 64 Mico.)

* * * * *

IN the name of God Amen, I, George Thomason, Cittizen & Stationer of London, being in health of body and of sound & perfect mynd & memory, Thanks be given to Almighty God, yet considering the frailty of human condicion and the certainty of my departure out of this present life, and likewise the uncertaintie of the daye & houre when it shall please God to call for me out of it, doe therefore make and declare this my present last Will and Testament in writeing in manner and forme following, That is to say, First and principally I commend my soule into the hands of Almighty God that gave it mee, hoping and assuredly beleeving that by and through the only meritts of his only begotten Sonne, my alone Saviour Jesus Christ, I shalbee saved, and after this short & transitory life ended bee made partaker with the holy Saints and Angells of his everlasting kingdom of glory. And my body I committ to the earth, to bee buried in decent & seemely manner at the discrecion of my executors hereafter named. And if I dye within the Cittye of London, or within tenne miles thereof, my desire is to be buried in the South Ile of the parish of Saint Dunstons in the West London, as nere to my late deare and only wife Katherine Thomason as conveniently may be.

And as touching that porcion of Temporall estate which God of his infinite mercy and goodnes hath conferred upon mee in this life, I give and dispose thereof in manner & forme following, that is to say, Imprimis I doe give to each of my executors, my children, grandchildren and servants living with me at my death mourning at my funerall and none other,

And I doe will that each other person that is invited and doth come vnto my funerall shall have there delivered one small volume which I have long since packt vp for that very purpose, And if there bee any left vndisposed of at my funerall my will is that my executors doe distribute them amongst such of my friends and acquaintance as shall not be present at my funerall, which are mencioned in a list written with my owne hand, where ever their habitacions are, in such convenient tyme after my funerall as may bee. And my will alsoe is That what other charge is usuall expended vaynly vpon funeralls be distributed amongst the poore of the parishes of Saint Faith and Saint Dunston in the West London Nevertheless at the discrecion of my executors.

And whereas I, being a ffreeman of the Citty of London and a widower, by the ancient & laudable Custome thereof my estate ought to bee divided into Three parts, Two parts whereof are in my own disposicion and the other Third parte ought to come to my Children unprovided for, I doe therefore, after payment of my debts & funerall expenses according to that ancient & laudable Custome, give & bequeath vnto my fower younger children, vizt Edward Grace Henry & Thomas one thirde parte, the whole into three equal parts to be devided of all my estate whatsoever, equally & proporcionably part & parte alike. My eldest sonne, George Thomason, and my eldest daughter, Katherine, now wife of William Stonestreete, being both advanced in marryage, have had and receaved from mee liberall and plentifull porcions of my estate.

And as touchinge the other Two Third parts,

The whole unto three equall parts to bee devided of my estate, I give and bequeath the same in manner & forme following, That is to say, I give and bequeath vnto my Said sonne George Thomason soe many bookes of such quality as hee shall chuse out of my stocke of bookes as may bee reasonably worth Tenne pounds to be sold in everye yeare for the space of Tenne yeares next after my death, And I doe will my executors to deliver the same unto him, yearly and every yeare, on the four and twentyeth day of June in every yeare dureing the said space of Tenne yeares The First delivery to bee made on the foure and twentyeth Daye of June next after my death. And all the said deliveryes to bee made at the dwellyng house of my executor, Henry Thomason, wherever it shall be. I alsoe give vnto my said sonne George my Bible which I dayly used, being Clapsed with a paire of Clapses, with two hands and a heart in the midst, and all the loose papers in that Bible. And I give unto my daughter Avis Thomason wife of the said George my booke of Martyrs in three volumes out of my library called my late dear wifes library.

Item I give & bequeath vnto my said daughter Katherine Stonestreete as a testimony of my Fatherly affection unto her out of my said Library Tenne volumes of books in Folio, Twenty volumes of bookes in Quarto and Thirty volumes of Bookes in Octavo such as she shall make choise of (Excepte booke of Martyrs whiche I have given unto her formerly and the Rix Bible with Cutts in itt, which was bound at Paris, which Rix Bible I

give vnto my grandsonne William Stonestreete for the Cutts sake, wherein hee taketh much delight. And I also give vnto my saide Grandsonne Tenne pounds in money to bee bestowed on a piece of plate for him thereby the better to remember mee. And my sonne George haveing receaved a large proporcion of my said late deare wife's library already I doe give and bequeath the remaynder of the said library vnto and amongst my said children Edward, Grace Henry & Thomas to be equally and proporcionably devided amongst them parte and porcion a like, That looking upon them they may remember to whom they did once belong, hoping that they will make the better use of them for their pretious & deare mothers sake.

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Grace Thomason her late deare Mothers watch and Ebony Cabbinett and all the goods in it And my best bed and furniture. I alsoe give to my said daughter Grace six hundred pounds in money over and besides her customary part and other legacies before bequeathed, to bee paid unto her at the birth of her first child, or within twelve monethes after her marriage, which shall first and next happen after my death. And to my sonne Thomas Thomason I give my greate Iron Chest.

Item, I doe give and bequeath the somme of forty shillings per annum dureing soe long tyme as my sonne Henry, one of my executors hereunder named, shall live, to bee by him paid vnto two such able and orthodox divines as hee shall yearely make choyce of to preach two sermons yearely, the one in the parish Church of Saint Dunstan in the West

upon Good Fryday in every yeare in commemoration of the sufferings of our Lord and blessed Saviour for mankind, And the other to be preached at Saint Paules Church in London upon the Thirteenth day of August in every yeare in Commemoration of the greate deliverance from the Spanish invasion in Anno Domini one Thousand five hundred fower score and eight, a mercy to this kingdome still to be kept in memory and never forgotten.

Item, I doe will my executors to bestowe the somme of Tenne pounds in an handsome peece of plate and to present it as my guift to the company of Stationers London, whereof I am a member, and the like somme of Tenne pounds in another peece of plate and to present it as my guift to the worshipfull company of haberdashers who have ever honoured me with their Love and solemne festivalls.

Item, I give to my servant John Durham, if he shalbe living with me at my death, fower pounds in money. And I desire my sonne Henry to accept him into partnership of stocke and Trade with him for one halfe or one third, if hee is able to accomplish it. And to all other my men servants and mayd servants that shalbe living with mee at my death I give forty shillings a peece in money.

And whereas I have a Collection of Pamphletts and other writeings and papers bounde up with them, of severall volumes, gathered by me in the tyme of the late warres and beginning the third day of November Anno Domini one thousand six hundred and forty and continued until the happie returne and coronacion of his most gracious Maiestie King Charles the second, upon which I put a very

high esteeme in regard that it is soe intire a work and not to be paralelled, and alsoe in respect of the long & greate paynes industry and charge that hath bin taken and expended in & about the collection of them Now I doe give the said collection of Pamphletts vnto my honored friends Thomas Barlowe, Doctor of Divinitie and now Provoste or Queenes Colledge in Oxon and Thomas Lockey, Doctor of Divinitie and principall keeper of the Publicke Library in Oxon, and John Rushworth of Lincolnes Inne esquire, vpon trust to bee by them sold for the use and benefitt of my Three sonnes Edward, Henry and Thomas, to be paid vnto them equally and proporcionably parte and parte alike, and I give to each of my said three honored friends Doctor Barlow, Doctor Lockey and Mr. John Rushworth forty shillings a peece in money to buy each of them a ring to weare in remembraunce of mee.

The rest and residue of my readie money plate goods household stuffe and other estate whatsoever I give and bequeath vnto my said three sonnes namely Edward Thomason Henry Thomason and Thomas Thomason to be equally devided amongst them part & porcion alike.

And of this my last Will and Testament I make and constitute my said sonne Henry and my sonne in law William Stonestreete the full & sole executors, commanding them to see it punctually performed according to my true meaning herein expressed. And I doe desire my loving friends, Mr. Anthony Dowse, Mr. Luke Fawne and my cousin Francis Griffith, to be overseers of this my

last will and Testament And to be aydeing and assisting vnto my executors in the execucion thereof. And in token of my love vnto them I give unto each of them forty shillings in money to buy each of them a ring to weare in remembrance of mee. And my will and mynd is, and I doe declare the same soe to bee That whatsoever Legacie I shall give to any of my friends & acquayntance by any Codicill written with my owne hand and annexed to this my will shalbe taken as parte of this my will and paid by my executors.

In witnes whereof I, the said George Thomason, have to this my last will and Testament, contayned in seaven sheets or leaves of paper, subscribed my name to everye sheete and prefixed my seale to the toppe & laste sheete, this one and twentieth day of November Anno Domini 1664 Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Angliæ &c, decimo sexto. GEORGE THOMASON.

Signed sealed published and declared by the Testator as and for his last will & Testament on the day of the date aforesaid in the presence of us, RICHARD FARMAR GEORGE JONES, JOHN STOURTON.

Now not knowing how my estate may fall out after my death according to my will lately made in case it shall fall short Then I doe give to my two deare children, my daughter Grace Thomason and my sonne Thomas Thomason That full somme of money that my collection of Pamphletts shalbe sold for, to bee equally devided betwixt them both for their advancement, which collection is in the hands of Doctor Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queenes

Colledge in Oxford, who is now in treaty with me about them for the publique Library, and I doubt not but neere a conclusion, which being concluded then shall I intreate and desire my good friend Mr Matt Goodfellow to be assistant to my sonne his servant in that perticular, which I have noe cause to doubt of. GEORGE THOMASON. January 20th, 1664 Signed and sealed in the presence of JOHN DURHAM, WILLIAM FLETCHER.

A Codicill

I have made my last will and Testament bearing date the one and twentieth day of November Anno Domini 1664. I doe by this Codicill constitute and make my sonne Thomas Thomason another executor to bee added to his brother Henry Thomason and his brother in lawe William Stone-streete. I alsoe adde my loveing friend Mr. Goodfellow, his master, to be another overseer of this my last will, a person of whose integritie and fidelity I am well assured of. My Iron Chest and all that is in itt I bequeath to my deare sonne Thomas: That Legacie to the company of Stationers I give upon Condicion that they take into their hands, and discharge me of the rent of the two bigger warehouses I hold of them by lease at Stationers Hall. And as for the six hundred pounds in money bequeathed to my dear daughter Grace, if the accustomed parte fall shorte, as I feare it maye Then that the said somme be paid her out of that money which the Pamphletts shalbee sould for. And the like somme of six hundred pounds issueing

out of the sale of these Pamphletts I bequeath to my deare sonne Thomas now made one of my executors And the remaynder thereof to my sonne Henry and his brother Edward, with the blessing of Almighty God upon them all. May the Two and Twentieth in the yeare of our Lord 1665.
GEORGE THOMASON.

Proved 27th April 1666 by William Stonestreete & administration granted to the sons Henry & Thomas.

DAFYDD AB GWILYM.

ALTHOUGH of all Welsh writers Dafydd ab Gwilym is certainly the best known to Englishmen, perhaps, indeed, the only one of whom they have heard, it may be doubted whether even he is much more than a name. The responsibility for this is no doubt largely to be attributed to Welshmen, to their neglect to bring the claims of their literature to the notice of other nations. Even to the very small number of Englishmen familiar with Welsh, the difficulties in the way of a study of Welsh poetry are great. Only a comparatively small portion of it has been published at all; the greater part of at least the mediæval poetry is hidden away in manuscripts often difficult of access. Nor is the study of poets like Dafydd ab Gwilym, whose works have been published, an easy thing. There is no really critical edition of Dafydd, for though Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans is preparing one, it has not yet appeared; so that it may often happen that, in Professor Cowell's words, the student "spends his strength uselessly in attempting to solve some enigma which at last turns out to be no dark saying of the poet, but some dull blunder of a scribe." Moreover, as there is no annotated edition of Dafydd, and all the existing Welsh dictionaries are seriously inadequate,

it is by no means a light undertaking to make one's way unaided through the many difficulties which, even when the text is sound, the poems offer.

In spite of all these obstacles, Dafydd has been the object of enthusiastic admiration and study by Welshmen; he has inspired innumerable later poets, has influenced greatly the course of Welsh literature, and to some extent the ideas of Welshmen, and has come to be regarded by many as the chief poet of Wales.

But it is not only from this point of view that Dafydd is worth knowing; for he is a poet to be read for his own sake. Probably few people will agree with Borrow's extravagant estimate of him as 'the greatest poetical genius that has appeared in Europe since the revival of literature'; but he is nevertheless a great poet and a real addition to our literary acquaintance. Perhaps, therefore, it will be some slight service both to Welsh literature and to English students of poetry to translate some specimens of his work. He has, indeed, been better treated by translators than the majority of Welsh poets. To say nothing of earlier versions, a volume of verse-translations, which, though by no means inspired, are in several cases above the average of such renderings, was published by A. J. Johnes in 1834; but this book, which is now to be obtained only by a lucky accident from some second-hand bookseller, does not seem to be widely known among English readers. To 'Y Cymmrodor' for 1878 (vol. ii.) Professor Cowell contributed an admirable article on the poet, with some verse and prose translations; but the volume is not likely to

have been seen by many except persons already interested in Wales and Welsh literature. Translations of single poems are to be met with in various places; the best I have seen are by Mr. W. J. Gruffydd ('The Celtic Review,' April, 1907), and by Mr. Ernest Rhys ('Celtia,' October, 1907).

The prose versions here given are of course a very inadequate representation of Dafydd's work as a whole, and they can give no idea of his metrical skill, and the sweetness and verbal felicity which distinguish his verse. For their form, however, some defence can be given. No doubt an inspired verse translation of any poet is always better than the best prose rendering; but an inspired translator of Welsh verse has yet to be found, and failing him there is much to be said for prose. The whole of Dafydd's work is in the 'strict metres,' which, being built up, not from feet and stress-accent like English verse, but from syllables and *cynghanedd*, a sort of combined rhyme and alliteration, are totally different from anything in English. It is, therefore, quite impossible to represent their peculiar effect in English verse; and this being so, the chief advantage of a verse translation, that it more accurately represents the effect of the original, is lost. On the other hand, it is possible to be much more literal in prose; though it must be remarked that the great difference between English and Welsh idiom makes strict literalness in many cases impossible. Even in their own limited sphere these translations leave much to be desired; but in default of anything else, they may serve to introduce a beautiful poet to English readers.

It will perhaps be well to supplement these specimens by some general remarks on the poet and his works. The time has hardly yet come for a discussion of the facts of his life; for till the publication of a critical edition of his poems, and the definite attribution of several poems of doubtful authenticity, it is unsafe to use his works for biographical purposes, and the traditional biography is suspected at almost every point. Almost the only two facts which can be regarded as certain—though even the second of these has been disputed by more patriotic than critical Northwallians—are that he lived in the fourteenth century and that he was a native of South Wales.

Concerning his poems more may be said, since few readers of this article are likely to know much of his work, and the poems here translated are too few to form a basis for criticism. Professor Cowell and others have dwelt upon the many resemblances between Dafydd and the troubadours, and though, as Professor Cowell remarks, Dafydd is a greater poet than any troubadour, the similarity of tone and subject is undoubted. Like the troubadours he is pre-eminently the poet of love and of the summer; but he gives to his treatment of these themes a naturalness and freshness very different from the artificiality of Provençal poetry. A contemporary of Chaucer, he differed from him in having behind him an old and highly developed poetical tradition; he inherited a language long adapted to literary uses and brought to a singular degree of perfection, and this language he uses with a mastery which raises him, as Matthew Arnold said of Chaucer, far

above the 'mediæval helplessness.' But if he is the heir of the past, he is also the initiator of a new school. It is possible to trace the growth of *cynganedd* all through early Welsh poetry, but not till the fourteenth century, in Dafydd and his contemporaries, does it appear as a fully developed system; and about then also began to be formed the canon of twenty-four 'strict metres' (finally established in the fifteenth century), chief among them the *cywydd*, in which nearly all Dafydd's poems are written.

In his subjects also he marks a new era. Throughout the second period of Welsh literature, from 1100 A.D. to the end of the thirteenth century, poetry was intimately connected with the great struggle against England. There were indeed both love poems and religious poems, but the most characteristic productions of the age were political in character, elegies or panegyrics on patriotic princes, songs of lamentation for defeat or exultation in victory. After the final conquest comes a time of despairing silence; then of a sudden we find Dafydd ab Gwilym singing light-heartedly of nature and of his lady. His contemporary Iolo Goch lived to celebrate Owen Glendower and to exult in what seemed the recovery of Welsh liberty, but no faintest echo of the national cause is heard in Dafydd.

I have already said that Dafydd is pre-eminently the poet of the summer, and the remark indicates at once his merit and his limitation. It would probably not be unjust to say that this limitation, which alone prevents him from taking a very high

rank among the poets of modern Europe, proceeds from a certain want of character. In saying this I do not mean to imply any condemnation of his morals, which, for aught I know, may have been beyond reproach. The life of Catullus was one which not a Puritan only would find it difficult to approve of, yet it was Catullus who wrote one of the noblest couplets in the whole poetry of love :

‘Dilexi tum te, non tantum ut volgus amicam,
Sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos.’

It would be rash to make general statements without a wider knowledge of Dafydd's works than I possess, but I doubt if he would ever have been capable of such a depth of passionate insight as that. He is in many ways representative, both in its defects and in its virtues, of the Welsh mediæval character—a character so different from that of to-day, moulded by a century and a half of Protestant Nonconformity—exquisitely delicate and graceful, exquisitely sensitive to every influence of beauty, enamoured of life and the joy of life, of bright colours, lovely forms, and the sunshine; richly endowed with fancy, quick to emotion, ardent and agile, yet withal a little volatile and untrustworthy, wanting in stamina, in depth, in grip of realities; a character the despair of the rigid moralist, but rising by its gracious loveableness to a sphere where most men will feel that the ordinary moral standards may be disregarded. There is, too, in Dafydd a humour which, while no doubt partly responsible for the ease with which he handles his subject, introduces at times a jarring

X.

E

note, a flippancy and want of nobleness disconcerting to his admirers, as when, in his poem on the thunder, he descends from so magnificent an image as 'a thousand giants shouting together from the chariots' of the constellations' to the stupid frivolity of 'an ugly hag banging her crockery.' We should hardly go to him for sublimity, for deep insight, for criticism of life; he is, as Professor Cowell says, the poet of the fancy rather than of the imagination, playing exquisitely on the surface of things, but rarely penetrating to their elemental reality. Nevertheless he is capable at times of deep feeling, as in the beautiful lines which conclude his poem to the summer (below, p. 53); he is capable, too, of wonderful touches of imaginative vision, as in the fine line describing the snow-clad country-side, which Professor Cowell quotes:

'Palment mwy na mynwent mor,'

'a pavement vaster than the graveyard of the sea,' or the poem on 'The Lineage of the Owl,' alluding to the old Welsh legend concerning the transformation of the unfaithful wife of Llew Llaw Gyffes, when, in reply to the poet's abuse, the bird tells him with dignified pathos how 'at the banquets of yore princes called me Flower-Aspect,' and beseeches him

¹ Welsh, *certwynau*. There is a variant reading *cadwynau*, "chains." [For the benefit of Welsh students it will be well to say that the text from which these translations are made is that of Mr. O. M. Edwards in "Cyfres y Fil" (except in the case of two passages, not given in that selection). I should like to apologize in advance for any errors which my renderings of a poet often difficult may contain.]

to 'leave me in peace, to endure pain and chastisement, and the hate of all birds that live.' In his own realm of the fancy he is perfect; he has a lightness of touch which in his best poems is unerring. It is perhaps most exquisite in those poems, like the one describing his own funeral when his mistress's cruelty has killed him, in which he mingles a playful humour with an under-current of pathos. His exuberant fancy sometimes leads him, as we have seen, into faults of taste, but these after all are few in comparison with the many lovely images which adorn almost every poem. 'A black eyebrow upon fair parchment, like a swallow on the bosom of the wave'; 'the wings of a flaming seraph,' and 'the sunlit border of a crested wave,' of gold hair; 'white bees of heaven wandering through Gwynedd,' of falling snow; 'a ray of sunlight, the gauntlet of ocean' and 'a (white) nun on the crest of the tide,' of a sea-gull; 'the candle of the most high God,' and 'the pearl of Mary,' of the moon; 'the porter of April,' 'the teacher of praise between light and darkness,' 'a chorister in God's chapel,' 'sea-lord of the tangled ocean of the sky,' of the skylark—such are a few of the images which his inexhaustible invention pours forth. His nature-poetry shows everywhere the traces of minute and loving observation; nature to him was no conventional literary background, but the object of his deepest feeling. His descriptions of natural sights and sounds do not indeed show the minute fidelity of some English poets, of Browning, for instance, in his poem on the thrush, nor the philosophic depth of Wordsworth, or, in Wales, of his disciple

Islwyn; but they have an exquisite grace, a wealth of imagery quite unsurpassed; they are reflections of nature absolutely true in essence, but seen in a magic mirror where all takes on a new glory and strangeness under the light of fancy. A characteristic instance is the lovely description of the nightingale's song:

Delicately she sings her first grave note, the sweet mean and treble of her stormy song. It is love's bright, enraptured prelude from the choir of the leaves; the happy song of a pure, glad maiden as she climbs through the branches, the bright welding of love. Dear is her memory to the minstrel,¹ poetess, weaver among the trees. Glad she is by day and by night, a voice unstammering, perfect in pure loveliness.

Another, and perhaps more striking example of Dafydd's fanciful imagery is the poem on the thrush-cock, which I translate in full.

In a pleasant place I was to-day, under the mantles of the fair green hazels, listening in the bright dawning of day to the learned music of the thrush-cock. Surely far from here was he born, and a far journey was his, the gray messenger of love. He came hither from the narrow shire of Chester at the bidding of my golden sister.² His robe, from his slender waist, was of a thousand

¹ Welsh *ofydd*, which may be either a proper noun (=Ovid) or a common one. Professor Cowell takes it as the former, translating, 'valuable is her mention of Ovid'; but surely the meaning could only be, 'valuable is her mention *by*' or 'her memory *to* Ovid.' O. M. Edwards in his edition prints the word with a small initial, evidently taking it as a common noun.

² Morvyth, the poet's lady (see below, p. 55). It is not uncommon in Welsh, as in Oriental, literature for a poet to call his mistress his sister.

delicately branching flowers; his cassock, you would guess, of the wings of the wind's green mantles; there was not there, on my faith, aught but gold for a covering to the altar.

Morvyth had sent him, sweet singer, foster son of May. I heard him in glowing notes descant unceasingly, and with clear and unstammering tongue read the gospel to all the congregation. On the hill there he raised to us, for wafer, a fair leaf, and the bright nightingale with her sweet eloquence, minstrel of the glen, sang to many listeners' from the corner of the wood beside him. Then the sacring-bell rang clear, and they raised the host, even to heaven, above the thicket, singing an ode to our Lord and Father, lifting up a chalice of ecstasy and love,—ah! fain I am of the singing that was prepared in the birch-copse of the woodland.

In a graver strain is the beautiful invitation to the summer to visit Morgannwg,² one of the poet's most famous works:

Thou Summer, sire of lustihead, with thy fair tangled forest brakes, jewelled prince of the glen, whose hot sun awakens yonder valley; ample are thy branches that shadow our highways, thou chief prophet of green boughs, who shall match thy tangled weaving,³ skilled painter of the fair trees? Thou hast created purest gems and rich webs on park and hill; thou coverest with pasture the face of the fair green earth, making it sweet as a second Paradise. Thou hast brought flowers, and leaves on leaves, lovely row on row above thy leafy dwellings. The notes of the young birds come back to us, the song of the Spring is on oak and hillock, and we hear among the buds a proud and lovely music, where the blackbird

¹ Lit. 'a hundred.'

² Glamorgan; pronounce *w* like English *oo*.

³ A free (and doubtful) rendering.

sings. All the world thou givest us, and makest all men glad.

Hear me, O Summer! If I have my desire, for which I come ambassador to thee in thy glory, fly over me to the land of Essyllt, from the mid country of wild Gwynedd.¹ Ride on even to my border, dear land on the sea's brow.

Bear for me of thy grace my greetings, yea, twenty times, to Morgannwg; my blessing and all good things, two hundred times, to that land I love. Put forth thy power for my country in all its confines, walk thou round about it—a country enclosed and trim, land of abundance, full of corn and hay, with lakes of fish, sweet orchards, houses of stone where dwells plenty, lords who dispense the banquet, pouring forth to men rich wine. It is seen at all times, my lovely land, thick set with orchards, full of all birds that haunt the woodland, of leaves and meadow flowers, with wide-branching trees and bright fields, corn in eight kinds and three of hay; a sweet and radiant land clad in green, fair grown with clover.

There are rich lords who give me golden coins and mead; and many a choir of singers who make music with string, and melody. Help and sustenance for all lands spring from it each day, and its milk and wheat give increase to far countries; Morgannwg, on the brow of the isle, feeds every place, each palace, and precinct.

If I win thee, O Summer, in thy lovely hour, with thy plenty and thy growing growth, bear gently thy calm days, a golden messenger, to Morgannwg. On some hot morning make the world glad, and greet the white homesteads. Give plenty; give the first growth of the spring, and heap together thy flowers; shine proudly on the lime-white wall, amply, in the brightness of light; set there in thine own land the trace of thy foot, green-robed grassy pastures; shake the burden of sweet fruits freely about its trees;

¹ North Wales; pronounce Gwyneth.

pour thine abundance, like a river, on every forest, and the meadows, and the wheat-land; clothe orchard, vineyard, and garden with thy plenty and fertility; scatter upon its lovely earth the sweet notes of thy bright season.

Then, in the time of thy flowers, when thy tree-tops are glossy with many leaves, I will gather the roses from the close, the meadow flowers, and the gems of the woodland, bright clover, the raiment of earth, and the sweet blossom of grass, to set them for a memorial of my gold-famed lord, ah, woe is me! upon Ivor's¹ grave.

As a poet of love Dafydd is capable of tenderness, but hardly of passion; his love, whether genuine or not (and I for one cannot doubt its genuineness), serves less as an end in itself than as the impulse to radiant flights of fancy, a theme to embroider with lovely words and images. In a large proportion of his poems the two themes, love and nature, are intermingled, and he sends the birds and the forces of nature, the wind for example, on embassy to his lady. Several ladies are celebrated in his poems, but the chief object of his muse was a certain Morvyth.² About the personality of this lady there has been much dispute. Professor Cowell has advanced the theory, which he supports by the analogy of Provençal love-poetry, that Dafydd's passion for her was a purely fictitious and conventional one; and a fantastic attempt has more recently been made to turn her into an allegorical figure of Wales; her husband, the 'Bwa Bach,' or 'little hunchback,' whom the poet covers with ridicule, being England. The latter theory scarcely

¹ Ivor Hael, the poet's patron.

² Welsh *Morfudd*. I spell as above to show the pronunciation.

calls for discussion. Professor Cowell advances some strong arguments for his, but in view of the tone of certain poems, particularly those written in the poet's later years, I find it very difficult to believe that Morvyth was anything but a real person, or the poet's love a literary convention.

Dafydd's attitude to life in general is that of the natural man in revolt against mediæval asceticism. He is of the kindred of Aucassin: 'In Paradise what have I to win? Therein I seek not to enter, but only to have Nicolete, my sweet lady that I love so well. . . . But into Hell would I fain go; for into Hell fare the goodly clerks, and goodly knights that fall in tourneys and great wars, and stout men at arms, and all men noble. With these would I liefly go. And thither pass the sweet ladies and courteous that have two lovers, or three, and their lords also thereto. Thither goes the gold, and the silver, and cloth of vair, and cloth of gris, and harpers, and makers, and the prince of this world. With these I would gladly go, let me but have with me Nicolete, my sweetest lady.' In a similar spirit Dafydd protests against 'the creed of the monks of Rome,' for example in the following poem, which is one of several alleged to have been addressed to the daughter of Ivor Hael, the poet's patron. According to the tradition, Dafydd was appointed the young lady's tutor, but a mutual passion arose between them, and Ivor placed his daughter in a convent in Anglesey, where Dafydd besieged her with odes. The tradition does not seem to rest on any very secure foundation, but may serve in default of anything else.

The love of a pale black-eyed maid fills me with care ;
 I pine away. Is it truth, O woman that I love, that thou
 carest nought for the fair-growing birch-tree of Summer ?
 Wilt thou never cease in thy cloister, thou perfect star,
 thy psalm-singing ? A nun and a saint thou art, dear to
 all the choir ; for God's sake have done with the bread
 and water, and cast from thee thy cress. Have done, o'
 Mary's name, with the lean paternoster, and the creed of
 the monks of Rome. Be no more a nun in the Spring-
 time ; better are the woods than the cloister. Fairest of
 women, thy religion is treason against love ; the ring of
 troth, the mantle, and green raiment would better beseech
 thee. Come to the spreading birch, to the creed of the
 trees and the cuckoo, where none will chide us that we
 gain Heaven in the green woodland. Forget not the
 book of Ovid, and have done with too much religion.
 There, among the fair trees by the hill-side, we will set
 our souls free. Is it any worse that a maid of gentle
 birth should gain a soul in the woodland than to do as
 we should do at Rome or the shrine of Saint James ?

Several poems again contain controversies between the poet and some monk or other who stands as the type of established morality. In one of these, which indeed is perhaps not a genuine work of Dafydd's, but is at any rate thoroughly in keeping with his spirit, he declares :

God is not so cruel as old men say ; it is a lie of priests,
 reading some musty parchment. God will never damn
 the soul of a gentle youth for loving woman or maid.
 Three things there are that are loved through all the
 world, woman and fair weather and health ; woman will
 be the fairest flower in Heaven save God himself. . . .
 From Heaven came all delight, from Hell all sadness.

He is then the poet of the summer, the poet of

youth and love and the joy of life. A tradition, stated, quite possibly with truth, to go back to an eye-witness, declares that he was 'tall and slender, with long rippling yellow hair, full of golden curls and ringlets'; and he has himself given us some indications of his personal appearance. In his poem on the hard-heartedness of the ladies of Llanbadarn he says:

There was never a Sunday passed in Llanbadarn but I was in Church taking stock of the congregation,¹ with my face on some sweet girl, and only the nape of my neck turned up to the dear God. After I have gazed an age over their feathers, across the whole congregation, one will say to her neighbour in a clear whisper, easy to hear, "Look at the pale-faced boy there with his languishing glances. Sure 'tis his sister's hair he is wearing!"

In his poem 'The Spectre,' too, he puts into the phantom's mouth what may well be the picture of his own youth:

'I too was young, as one not made for death, and in the pride of youth passed about the world reaping just renown, a wandering man of war, even as thou art. Fair love-locks clad my shoulders, auburn-hued, fair-growing as the vine-tendrils; bright were mine eyes, pure and clear, my glance was keen, my tongue rich in faultless speech; I had pride in the May-time. I kissed my lady in the fair, pleasant summer days.; I walked in honour;

¹ Welsh *na bawn ac eraill a'm barn*, a difficult line. My translation, which is free, rests on the assumption that, as suggested by a friend, *ac* may be (by an easy MS. corruption) a mistake for *ar*, in which case the logical order will be *na bawn a'm barn ar eraill*, and the literal meaning, 'that I was not with my judgment on (= was not criticizing) others.'

I had joy in women and the mead-bowl; but in the end came silence—my boast was great, yet I must die.¹

‘In the end came silence.’ Yes! even youth and the joy of life must pass. Summer goes, and the poet of the summer is left mute. In the dark winter hours, in the shadow of death, it is not to the poet of the summer that we shall turn for consolation and new courage; but so long as summer days return and the woods grow green again, so long, we may believe, the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym will endure.

We may fitly conclude with two poems written in later life.

THE POET IN OLD AGE RECALLS THE DAYS THAT HAVE BEEN

O lily-maid, bright of hue, Morvyth, fair as the comely light of day, much have I sung of thee, O thou whose beauty is in all men’s sight.

Yester-eve, ’twas late, I tarried for thee, sweetheart, in the place where we met that first summer-month of our love. I gazed awhile, I looked about me and remembered,—

When first in secret I saw thy shape and heard thy voice, our wood upon its sweet bank was all leafy and young, and on the top of my birch-tree no branch was broken; lusty it was, full of the summer and youth’s increase, even to its roots. A green temple it was, a house of many leaves, a cottage thatched with thick foliage, a lovely tower, round-topped, battlemented; its branches

¹ I find the Welsh here difficult, and the translation may be inaccurate in places.

were strong and round, and birds with their lore sang rapturously yonder in the forest. The blackbird to our sweet birch-tree came with offering of tender songs; thou knowest how radiantly he sang to the lovely wood in May. At night came the nightingale to our leaves, enraptured, with melodious music, and we greeted duly the psalm she sang to love's tune.

Now grievous age holds lordship over the delicate leaves, and the tree with withered branches pines under the languishment of winter and the pouring rain. Old age weighs heavily upon it, and the storm-wind bears away its covering; and no more upon its head does the blackbird exult in his gold-woven song,¹ nor the nightingale sing her odes in the midst of it. Too cold is it now!

I remember my young strength, and the love that I bore thee, sweet; and the great chastisement I had for loving thee, and how I did not win thee to be my crown of life. Long waiting for love wore me away, and life was ever hard for me; natheless I must endure my burden many a year without thee. Bitter is the anguish in my brain, and in my heart chill decay for thy sake; grievous my night-watches; my grave is made ready for me.

¹ Johnes translates these two lines—

‘And the ouzel’s pride is o’er,
With his head besleck’d with gold,’

and he adds a note on the second: ‘This line is a literal translation; though it does not suit the common ouzel, it may apply to the rose-coloured ouzel whose head is glossed with blue, purple, and green. Bewick, p. 95. In a poet so true to nature this line still leaves a difficulty.’ It is curious that it did not occur to him that his translation might be wrong, for wrong it certainly is. *Ar ei ben*, ‘on his head,’ refers to the tree, not the blackbird, and *ag eirwe bwnc* can only mean ‘with gold-woven song.’

THE LAST CYWYDD¹

After youth, mourning; like an arrow it pierces me.
My life to me is sorrow now; I will call for strength to
the Lord.

Gone is youth and its glory; if my day was brave it is
over now. Gone is my wisdom and my brain, and love's
vengeance takes hold upon me; the Muse is cast from
my lips, she that long time brought me song to inspire
me. Where is Ivor, who gave me counsel? Where is
Nest,² who was my refuge? Where is Morvyth, my
world, beneath the trees? They rest all in the sod, and I
fare heavily all my days, under a bitter burden enduring
long pain.

I shall sing no more songs, nor make trial of them, to
the trees, or the young herbs, or the vetch. No more in
the lovely woodland can I rejoice for the nightingale's
song, nor the cuckoo's, nor for the kiss of the woman I
loved, my darling, nor her voice, nor the sound of her
speech.

Old age is a dart in my brain; it is not the love of a
fair maid is my sickness now,—nay, love is gone from
me, and all my favour; it is a grief to think thereon. I
am become as chaff, without strength; I am fallen into
the snares of death. The grave is made ready for me,
and life's end, and the earth. Christ be my haven and
my help! Amen; it is the end!

H. IDRIS BELL.

¹ One of the twenty-four metres (see above, p. 48). I do not
translate 'last lines,' because the last lines were actually in the *englyn*
metre.

² The wife of Ivor Hael.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

NOT content with his late exposition of one episode of French history, Anatole France has now produced in 'L'Île des Pingouins' a satirical survey of the whole of French history with special reference to the events of the last thirty years. That the work is well done goes without saying, but I cannot help wondering if it was worth the doing. An acute French critic reminds us that however much we may dislike the age into which we are born, 'il faut vivre, et les hommes n'ont guère coutume de reconnaître la parole de vie dans un langage nuancé de dédain.' The preface deals with methods of writing history. M. France tells us that he began by consulting learned archæologists and palæologists. They could offer him no assistance :

'Est-ce que nous écrivons l'histoire, nous ? Est-ce que nous essayons d'extraire d'un texte, d'un document, la moindre parcelle de vie ou de vérité ? Nous publions les textes purement et simplement. Nous nous en tenons à la lettre. La lettre est seule appréciable et définie. L'esprit ne l'est pas ; les idées sont des fantaisies. Il faut être bien vain pour écrire l'histoire : il faut avoir de l'imagination.'

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 63

Pursuing his investigations farther, among so-called historians, he discovered that imagination was no longer required for the writing of history; indeed, he was told that histories need not be composed afresh, it was better to imitate those that already existed, for

'Si vous avez une vue nouvelle, une idée originale, si vous présentez les hommes et les choses sous un aspect inattendu, vous surprendrez le lecteur. Et le lecteur n'aime pas à être surpris. Il ne cherche jamais dans une histoire que les sottises qu'il sait déjà. Si vous essayez de l'instruire, vous ne ferez que l'humilier et le fâcher. Ne tentez pas de l'éclairer, il crierà que vous insultez à ses croyances.'

And so, finding help nowhere, M. France determined to write history in his own way:

'Le présent ouvrage appartient, je dois le reconnaître, au genre de la vieille histoire, de celle qui présente la suite des événements dont le souvenir s'est conservé, et qui indique, autant que possible, les causes et les effets; ce qui est un art plutôt qu'une science. On prétend que cette manière de faire ne contente plus les esprits exacts et que l'antique Clio passe aujourd'hui pour une diseuse de sornettes.'

The work is divided into eight books, dealing with 'Les origines; Les temps anciens; Le moyen âge et la renaissance; Les temps modernes' (which fill three books); and 'Les temps futurs.' The apotheosis of modern civilization is thus described:

'Cependant la Pingouinie se glorifiait de sa richesse. Ceux qui produisaient les choses nécessaires à la vie en manquaient; chez ceux qui ne les produisaient pas, elles surabondaient. Le grand peuple pingouin n'avait plus

64 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

ni traditions, ni culture intellectuelle, ni arts. Les progrès de la civilisation s'y manifestaient par l'industrie meurtrière, la speculation infâme, le luxe hideux. Sa capitale révélait, comme toutes les grandes villes d'alors, un caractère cosmopolite et financier: il y régnait une laideur immense et régulière. Le pays jouissait d'une tranquillité parfaite. C'était l'apogée.

Of future times a terrible picture is drawn. At a certain point everything will be blown up by dynamite, but—even that catastrophe will not annihilate the reign of wealth, of vast industrial undertakings, of unholy trusts, and everything will be again exactly as it was before.

The book abounds in wit and satire that is both subtle and diverting. For example, the craze in art for the primitives, a craze our historian finds it very difficult to comprehend, draws forth this comment, 'Ce dont on est frappé d'abord lorsqu'on regarde cette figure, ce sont ses proportions. Le corps depuis le cou jusqu'aux pieds, n'a que deux fois la hauteur de la tête.' Then as the painter had only a very few colours, he used them in all their purity so that more vivacity than harmony resulted. The cheeks of the Virgin and of the Child are of a beautiful vermilion arranged in two circles as if drawn with a compass. Yet, continues M. France, a critic declares that in making the Virgin's head a third of the total height of the figure, the artist draws the spectator's attention to the most sublime parts of the human person, and especially to the eyes: the spiritual organs, and the colour conspires with the drawing to produce an ideal and a mystical expression. The vermilion of

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 65

the cheeks does not recall the natural aspect of the skin, the old master has applied the roses of Paradise to the faces of the Virgin and Child. In that way, according to M. France, do the admirers of 'les primitifs' justify their attitude.

An adequate idea of the book is not to be obtained through quotations or description. I am inclined to think that the first part is the best. English critics have compared Anatole France as he shows himself in this work to Swift and to Voltaire. But he possesses neither the *saeva indignatio* of the one nor the polished steel-like irony of the other. The French critic, René Doumic, probably strikes the right note when he says:

'La sagesse de M. France est la sagesse antique. Artiste, il exècre notre époque utilitaire. Aristocrate jusqu'au bout des ongles, il répugne aussi bien à une religion qui consacre l'éminente dignité des petits, et à un état social qui admet la toute-puissance du nombre. Son rêve est celui d'un païen. Il aurait voulu arrêter la marche du monde aux temps virgiliens: l'humanité depuis lors n'a fait que dégénérer. C'est une opinion, et qui n'étonne pas venant du plus subtil des lettrés d'aujourd'hui. Seulement on ne retourne pas en arrière.'

In 'Les Détours du Coeur' Paul Bourget has written twelve short stories (as usual there is nothing on the title-page to show that the book does not contain a long novel, nor is the date of composition or publication anywhere to be found), each showing a man or a woman at some psychological crisis. All the people are unpleasant, perverse, not to say deliberately wicked. The bad are not awakened by the crisis, as sometimes happens, to a knowledge

66 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

of their better selves; indeed, even when there is a clear way out of the slough, they prefer to remain in it. But is it not waste of time for so clever an observer, so exquisite a stylist, to bestow his skill on thieves, and cheats, and assassins, and breakers of the marriage vow? The book is an admirable guide to any one wishing to become acquainted with the latest Parisian slang.

It is a relief to turn to Pierre de Coulevain's 'Au Cœur de la Vie.' Her characters are quite as unreal as Bourget's, but there is an air of refinement and gentleness about them and their setting that pleases and soothes us. The thread of the story—the reconciling of a couple who had chosen to be divorced through incompatibility of temper—is very thin, and merely serves to give some coherency to an old lady's discursive reflections on life. The author understands women in certain phases of their existence; men she draws with a less sure hand. As always, she shows a great appreciation of things English.

Here is a pretty interpretation of the theory of coincidences which testifies to the charm of Pierre de Coulevain's style:

'J'ai hésité entre Territet et Chexbres. C'est vous qui m'avez attirée ici.

'J'en suis très fier!

'Oh! il n'y a pas de quoi. Le mot télépathie est lancé, mais nous l'employons encore à tort et à travers, sans y attacher l'importance qu'il a réellement.

'Vous croyez?

'Sûrement. Nous commençons à soupçonner que dans les lettres qui se croisent, dans la rencontre inopinée

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 67

d'une personne à laquelle nous venons de penser, il y a autre chose que de simples coïncidences. Tous les individus qui sont destinés à une œuvre commune—œuvre qu'ils ignorent—doivent être maintenus en communication constante.

'Ce serait logique.

'Et ils le sont probablement au moyen de fluides, de courants psychiques; nous ne savons encore rien de l'invisible au milieu duquel nous nous mouvons; mais il me semble que l'invisible, qui est l'âme de la Terre, devient de plus en plus sensible. Nous arriverons à fabriquer des instruments qui enregistreront les rayons humains, nous les capterons comme nous avons capté l'électricité. Il y aura peut-être la pensée sans fil, comme il y a la télégraphie sans fil.'

'L'Idylle de Marie Bize,' by Gustave Geoffroy, is a novel with a purpose. It is written not to give pleasure, not because the author has a story to tell that must be told, but to show the evils of orphan asylums conducted by nuns, the effect of excessive restraint on girls of different temperaments. The conclusion is that the cloister is not a good preparation for girls who have their living to get in the world. There is one interesting figure in the book, that of a strictly virtuous woman, much sinned against, who learnt sympathy through suffering. 'Je compris l'obscurité, la tristesse de la destinée humaine, et que ceux et celles qui n'ont pas failli n'ont pas de fierté et d'orgueil à avoir.'

Very little that is interesting in German fiction has of late come my way: sequels seem to be the fashion, and they are seldom satisfactory. George Hermann's 'Henriette Jacoby' is a much inferior book to 'Jettchen Gebert,' and the chief value of

68 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

the story lies perhaps in the fact that it proves once again that when a man loves a woman, a deal of trouble would be saved if, instead of concealing it all his days, he took courage and told her. Neither is Otto Ernst's 'Semper der Jüngling, ein Bildungsroman' on the level of 'Asmus Sempers Jugendland,' a book that is admired by all who read it, and yet no English publisher can be induced to issue a translation of it. In the sequel now before us, Semper relates his experiences while training to be a teacher, and his earliest days in the profession as a master in a primary school. A pretty love tale runs through the latter part of the book, and shrewd observation is everywhere apparent. For instance: 'Herr Drögemüller, the headmaster, was a bachelor, and so he had too much time for his work. He spent his days at the writing-table in his office; his home was merely a sleeping-place.' We all know such men and are sorry for them.

* * * * *

It seems strange that any one should take the trouble to write a biography of Jenny Dacquín, Prosper Mérimée's 'Inconnue.' It might have been supposed that we could find all we wish to know about her in the 'Lettres à une Inconnue.' She it was who published those letters after Mérimée's death, so strange are the ways of women who number great men among their friends and admirers. But Alphonse Lefebvre has devoted much time and trouble to the production of a big volume entitled, 'La Célèbre Inconnue de Prosper Mérimée, sa vie et ses œuvres authentiques avec

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 69

documents, portraits et dessins inédits. Préface introduction par Félix Chambon.' It is characterized as a psychological study of a 'personnalité incomprise,' founded on authentic documents, and a hitherto unpublished private correspondence. Those who like such things may read here all they will ever probably know about Jenny Dacquin and her relations with Mérimée. Some will rest content to know only that she inspired the most beautiful letters ever written to a woman by a man.

A very interesting and less-known side of Mme. de Staël's character is shown in Paul Gautier's 'Mathieu de Montmorency et Mme. de Staël.' The book is based on the unpublished letters of M. de Montmorency to Mme. Necker de Saussure, Mme. de Staël's cousin and most intimate friend. It is carefully edited, the references and authorities being stated. Montmorency's 'liaison' with Mme. de Staël lasted twenty-seven years, and was only dissolved by her death. It is somewhat curious that a man should confide to one woman his love for another, but that is exactly what Montmorency does in these letters. We are the gainers, for he certainly draws in them one of the most interesting portraits of Mme. de Staël that we possess. He shows us :

'Ses puissantes facultés, cet amour de la gloire, cette fascination extraordinaire qu'elle exerçait sur ses amis et sur ses proches. Mais elle y revit aussi avec ses passions, sa tristesse, sa mélancolie, cet étrange pouvoir de creuser la souffrance et la peine. Le brillant décor de son existence cachait un drame plus émouvant que celui qui se jouait en public, sur la scène; les erreurs même de cette

70 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

âme passionnée ne sont qu'un des épisodes de cette course au bonheur, où elle s'épuisait, sans jamais atteindre sa chimère.

* * * * *

Friedrich Kummer's 'Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19 Jahrhunderts,' is an excellently arranged survey divided into five generations. Kummer's idea is that the history of literature, provided it is a history not of books but of ideas, offers a picture of the whole intellectual development of a nation. The literary history of each generation is introduced by chapters on: (1) the political, economic, and social conditions; (2) the philosophical, scientific, and religious influences; (3) the literary life; (4) the literary influences of the past and of foreign nations; (5) the reflection of the age in the other arts. Then follow accounts of the fore-runners and pioneers who prepare the way for the leading lights of each generation, of the great geniuses themselves, and of their imitators and continuators. A brief biography of each author is given with a carefully classified list of his works, the principal of them being more or less fully described and analysed, concluding with a general criticism of the whole achievement. It is interesting to note who are characterized as the great writers of each generation. For the first, we have Kleist, Tieck, Hoffmann, J. v. Eichendorff, Rückert, Uhland, Grillparzer; for the second, Heine, Gutzkow, Lenau, Immermann, Mörike, Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff; for the third, Gott-
helf, Scheffel, Gottfried Keller, Ludwig, Freytag,

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 71

Storm, Heyse, Wagner, Hebbel; for the fourth, Anzengruber, C. F. Meyer, Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach; and for the fifth, Fontane, Liliencron, Hauptmann, and Nietzsche. Even if it should be asserted that except Heine, Wagner, Hauptmann, and Nietzsche no one of them occupies the highest place in the Temple of Fame, each of them occupies in his own department a very high place indeed. The book is a useful, not to say a valuable, contribution to the history of modern European literature. The least attractive part of it is the preface, which is too long and wordy, but the wise reader omits the preface, at least until he has read the book. It should perhaps be mentioned that the volume fills some 700 pages.

I remember that some ten years ago I asked the editor of one of our leading reviews if I might write for him an article on contemporary German fiction, and was met by the reply, 'No, because there isn't any.' Yet Léon Pinseau has written a book of 323 pages on 'L'évolution du Roman en Allemagne au XIX^e Siècle,' and A. Chuquet contributes a preface. The matter formed a course of lectures at Paris; the book fills a gap in literary history, and will be of service to the student of literature and of interest to the general reader. The history of the German novel is traced through its various phases from Goethe, who modernized it, down to the present day. We have an account of the romantic novel, of the humoristic novel, the village tale, the historical novel, the realistic novel, the feminist novel, the short story, the neo-romantic novel. Pinseau comes to the conclusion that:

72 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

'Le naturalisme est passé, comme forme à l'impressionisme et comme fond, la matérialisme, dont il s'inspirait, a fait place au symbolisme, au satanisme, au mysticisme. Après n'avoir plus voulu de religion, on a cherché à en fonder de nouvelles, tout en ne cessant d'être hanté par l'ancienne.'

He considers that the German novel is now as poetical and lyrical as it was at the time of romanticism. Novels, as we all know, form perhaps the best historical guide to the social life of the time in which they are written, and so, incidentally, Pinseau has drawn a very interesting picture of the German nation. We look forward to the two books he has now in hand, one on the evolution of the theatre in Germany in the nineteenth century, and the other on the evolution of lyric poetry in Germany in the same period.

'Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée,' by Gustave Reynier, a very learned work, is a contribution to the history of the French novel. The author brings out very skilfully how Astrée was the climax of a long series of attempts, well-intentioned but of an inferior art, that its success has caused to be forgotten. He shows also that the French novel of sentiment was greatly influenced by Italian and Spanish literature, and that its progress was closely allied with the spirit of the society of the time, and with the prestige of women. There is a useful bibliography, and a classified table of the novels printed in France between 1593 and 1610.

Any criticism from the pen of Émile Michel, the distinguished biographer of Rembrandt and of Rubens, claims attention. In his 'Nouvelles études

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 73

sur l'histoire de l'art,' he treats of art criticism and its present conditions. He deals in his preface with the essentials of art criticism, regarding it as one of the most important *genres* of contemporary literature. The knowledge it requires does not eliminate feeling, but on the contrary lends it life and interest. Documentary research cannot, of course, compensate for the love of nature and of art, which is as necessary a quality in the critic as in the artist. One of the most interesting of the essays is entitled 'Le dessin chez Léonard de Vinci.' Michel thinks that study of Leonardo's principles would prevent much of the bad art of the present day.

'L'absence d'études suffisantes amène un trop grand nombre d'artistes en quête d'inédit, à s'engager dans des voies où ils ne peuvent trouver que la bizarrerie et l'incohérence. Pressés d'arriver, certains débutants, avec la complicité de critiques amis, abrègent, quand ils ne le suppriment pas tout à fait, le temps de leur apprentissage et considèrent l'ignorance comme le gage le plus assuré de leur originalité.'

Indeed, the feverish agitation which we take for energy or activity is often sterile. That criticism is as true of some of the literature of the present day as it is of the art. It may be useful to note here that a very good selection from Leonardo's works may be found in 'Textes Choisis. Léonard de Vinci. Pensées, théories, préceptes, fables, et facéties,' with an introduction by Péladan.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention:—

74 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Les Etapes douloureuses (L'Empereur de Metz à Sédan). Par le Baron Albert Verly. Préface par Etienne Charles.

Forms part of a series of *souvenirs* of the Second Empire. This volume is really a pæan to the army of Sedan.

Le retour des Bourbons d'Hartwell à Gand. Le règne des émigrés, 1814-15. Par Gilbert Stenger.

An essay on the return of the Bourbons to France after twenty-five years of exile. The book contains certain facts of social life, neglected by political historians, which help to a better understanding of the ephemeral resurrection of the Bourbon monarchy.

Nos amitiés politiques avant l'abandon de la Revanche. Par Madame Juliette Adam (Juliette Lamber).

An interesting piece of political 'histoire intime,' beginning with the fall of Thiers in 1873 and ending with the death of Edmond Adam in 1877. The discursive style, and the lack of dates of years, for which those of months do not compensate, lessen the value of the volume.

Nos femmes de lettres. Par Paul Flat.

Biographical and critical essays on Mme. de Noailles, Mme. Henri de Régnier, and Marcelle Tinayre.

Traicte contenant les secrets du premier livre sur l'espee seule, mere de toutes armes. Composé par Henry de Saint Didier Gentilhomme Provençal.

A fine facsimile reprint of a book of 1573 in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 75

Valentine de Lamartine. *Souvenirs intimes*. Par Mme. M.-Th. Emile Ollivier.

This lady who was Lamartine's niece, really took the place of a daughter to him, and her memoirs add to our knowledge of the great writer.

Pascal et son Temps. Troisième partie. Les Provinciales et les Pensées. Par Fortunat Strowski.

A volume of the series entitled 'Histoire-du sentiment religieux en France au XVII^e siècle.'

Le grand siècle intime. De Richelieu à Mazarin (1642-4). Par Emile Rocca.

An 'étude en marge d'histoire.'

Lettres inédites de Béranger à Dupont de l'Eure (Correspondance intime et politique, 1820-54). Ouvrage annoté par Paul Hacquard et Pascal Forthuny. Orné d'un portrait de Béranger, d'après Couture.

New letters of Béranger which serve to illuminate the character of De l'Eure, who was a sort of Aristides, and also illustrate the period, containing as they do sketches of many interesting people.

Les doctrines d'art en France. Peintres—Amateurs—Critiques. De Poussin à Diderot. Par André Fontaine.

A contribution to the history of French thought and French art during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Schiller und Lotte. Ein Briefwechsel. Edited by Alexander von Gleichen-Russwurm. 2 vols.

Schiller's love-story is here told by the persons concerned in their letters, which have been taken out of the general correspondence and arranged in order as sent and received.

76 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Briefe Conrad Ferdinand Meyers nebst seinen Rezensionen und Aufsätzen. Edited by Adolf Frey. 2 vols.

These letters in some measure complete the picture of the man as we have it in Adolf Frey's biography, although their interest perhaps scarcely reaches the expectations formed of them. They are arranged under the names of the recipients, among whom are Gottfried Keller, Paul Heyse, and Betty Paoli.

Mozart. Sein Leben und Schaffen. Von Karl Storck.

A new biography by a lover of music in general, and of the harmony and beauty of Mozart's music in particular.

Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie. Mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte. Von Ernst Bernheim.

A newly revised and enlarged edition of a work doubtless useful to the scientific historian.

Geschichte des Deutschen Idealismus. Von Dr. M. Kronenberg.

The first volume of a work, to be completed in three, which is addressed to educated people in general, not only to learned students of philosophy. This portion deals with the idealistic development of ideas from the beginning to Kant. Vol. II. will deal with the classical period of German idealism from Kant to Hegel, and the concluding volume with German idealism and the present day. The connection of the great philosophers with literature, art, and science is demonstrated throughout. Kronenberg is the author of a life of Kant.

Preussen im Kampfe gegen die Französische Revolution bis zur zweiten Teilung Polens. Von Kurt Heidrich.

A period of history that is largely occupying the attention of historians at the present time.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 77

Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit. Von
Dr. Karl Stahlin.

The first volume (to 1573) of a more elaborate life of Walsingham than has yet been written, based on original authorities.

Aus Insulinde. Malayische Reisebriefe. Von
Ernst Haeckel.

Interesting travel sketches by a great man of science.

ELIZABETH LEE.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FROM THE PRINTER'S STANDPOINT.¹

THE printer is interested in the current discussion of spelling reform much as Alsace-Lorraine was interested in the Franco-Prussian War. He is not the subject of the dispute, but his fortunes are bound up with those of the conqueror. Few recent controversies have yielded so much humour—on both sides—as this, and few have excited so little interest in proportion to the energy expended. Both these results are due perhaps to the fact that the subject, from its very nature, does not admit of being made a burning question. Yet one has to look only a little way into it to see that important interests—educational, commercial, and possibly racial—are involved. Thus far the champions have been chiefly the newspapers for spelling as it is, and scholars and educators for spelling as it ought to be. But, in spite of the intelligence of the disputants, the discussion has been singularly insular and deficient in perspective. It would gain greatly in conclusiveness if spelling and its modifications were considered broadly and historically, not as

¹ Published under the title *Orthographic Reform* in 'The Printing Art' (University Press, Cambridge, Mass.), and reprinted here, by kind leave of the editor, as a very able exposition of the need for some change in our present spelling, from a point of view with which bibliographers may sympathize.

peculiar to English, but as common to all languages, and involving common problems, which we are not the first to grapple with, but rather seem destined to be the last to solve.

As is usually the case in controversies, the chief obstacle to agreement is a lack of what the lawyers call a meeting of minds. The two sides are not talking about the same thing. The reformer has one idea of what spelling is; the public has another idea, which is so different that it robs the reformer's arguments of nearly all their force. To the philologist spelling is the application of an alphabet to the words of a language, and an alphabet is merely a system of visible signs adapted to translate to the eye the sounds which make up the speech of the people. To the public spelling is part and parcel of the English language, and to tamper with it is to lay violent hands on the sacred ark of English literature. To the philologist an alphabet is not a thing in itself, but only a medium, and he knows many alphabets of all degrees of excellence. Among the latest formed is that which we use and call the Roman, but which, though it was taken from Italy, made its way back there after a course of development that carried it through Ireland, England, and Germany. This alphabet was originally designed for writing Latin, and, as English has more sounds than Latin, some of the symbols when applied to English have to do multiple duty; though this is the least of the complaints against our current spelling. In fact any inventive student of phonetics could in half an hour devise a better alphabet for English, and scores have been devised.

80 SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FROM

But the Roman has the field, and no one dreams of advocating a new alphabet for popular use. Meanwhile, though the earliest English was written in Runic, and Bibles were long printed in black-letter, still to the great English-reading public the alphabet of current books and papers is the only alphabet. So much for the Roman alphabet, which, though beautiful and practical, is not so beautiful as the Greek nor nearly so efficient for representing English sounds as the Cherokee alphabet invented by the half-breed, Sequoyah, is for representing the sounds of his mother-tongue.

Let us now turn from the alphabet, which is the foundation of spelling, to spelling itself. Given a scientific alphabet, spelling, as a problem, vanishes; for there is only one possible spelling for any spoken word, and only one possible pronunciation for any written word. Both are perfectly easy, for there is no choice, and no one who knows the alphabet can make a mistake in either. But given a traditional alphabet encumbered with outgrown or impracticable or blundering associations, and spelling may become so difficult as to serve for a test or hallmark of scholarship. In French, for instance, the alphabet has drifted so far from its moorings that no one on hearing a new word spoken, if it contains certain sounds, can be sure of its spelling; though everyone on seeing a new word written knows how to pronounce it. But in English our alphabet has actually parted the cable which held it to speech, and we know neither how to write a new word when we hear it, nor how to pronounce one when we see it. Strangest of all,

THE PRINTER'S STANDPOINT. 81

we have come, in our English insularity, to look on this as a matter of course. But Swedes and Spaniards, Italians and Dutchmen, have no such difficulty, and never have to turn to the dictionary to find out how to spell a word that they hear, or how to pronounce a word that they see. For them spelling and speech are identical; all they have to make sure of is the standard of pronunciation. They have done what we have neglected to do—developed the alphabet into an accurate phonetic instrument, and our neglect is costing us, throughout the English-speaking world, merely in dealing with silent letters, the incredible sum of a hundred million dollars a year.¹ Our neighbours look after the alphabet, and the spelling looks after itself; if the pronunciation changes, the spelling changes automatically, and thus keeps itself always up to date.

But this happy result has not been brought about without effort, the same kind of effort that our reformers are now making for our benefit. In Swedish books printed only a hundred years ago, we find words printed with the letters 'th' in combination, like the word 'them,' which had the same meaning, and originally the same pronunciation, as the English word. At that time, however, Swedes had long ceased to be able to pronounce the 'th,' but they kept the letters just as we still keep the 'gh' in 'brought' and 'through,' though for centuries no one who speaks only standard

¹ See 'Simplified Spelling in Writing and Printing: a Publisher's Point of View.' By Henry Holt, LL.D. New York. 1906. About one-half the expense falls within the domain of printing.

82 SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FROM

English has been able to sound this guttural. In the last century the Swedes reformed their spelling, and they now write the word as they pronounce it, 'dem.' German spelling has passed through several stages of reform in recent decades, and is now almost as perfectly phonetic as the Swedish. Germans now write 'Brot,' and no longer 'Brod' or 'Brodt.' It must be frankly confessed that the derivation of some words is not so obvious to the eye as formerly. The appearance of the Swedish 'býrá' does not at once suggest the French 'bureau,' which it exactly reproduces in sound. But Europeans think it more practical, if they cannot indicate both pronunciation and etymology in spelling, to relegate the less important to the dictionary. Much, to be sure, has been made of the assumed necessity of preserving the pedigree of our words in their spelling, but in many cases this is not done now. Who thinks of 'alms' and 'eleemosynary' as coming from the same Greek word? The chances are that a complete phonetic spelling of English would actually restore to the eye as much etymology as it took away.

But the most deep-seated opposition to changing our current spelling arises from its association, almost identification, with English literature. If this objection were valid it would be final, for literature is the highest use of language, and if reformed spelling means the loss of our literature we should be foolish to submit to it. But at what point in the history of English literature would reformed spelling begin to work harm? Hardly before Shakespeare, for the spelling of Chaucer

THE PRINTER'S STANDPOINT. 83

belongs to the grammatical stage of the language at which he wrote, and Spenser's spelling is more or less an imitation of it made with a literary purpose. Shakespeare and Milton, however, wrote substantially modern English, and they are therefore at the mercy of the spelling reformer—as they always have been. The truth is, Shakespeare's writings have been respelt by every generation that has reprinted them, and the modern spelling reformer would leave them far nearer to our current spelling than that is to Shakespeare's. The poet himself made fun of his contemporaries who said 'det' instead of 'debt,' but what would he say of us who continue to write the word 'debt,' though it has not been so pronounced for three hundred years? In old editions (and how fast editions grow old!) antiquated spelling is no objection, it is rather an attraction; but new, popular editions of the classics will be issued in contemporary spelling so long as the preservation of metre and rhyme permit. We still turn to the first folio of Shakespeare and to the original editions of Milton's poems to enjoy their antique flavour, and, in the latter case, to commune not only with a great poet, but also with a vigorous spelling reformer. But, though we could hardly understand the actual speech of Shakespeare and Milton, could we hear it, we like to treat them as contemporaries and read their works in our everyday spelling. Thus, whatever changes come over our spelling, standard old editions will continue to be prized and new editions to be in demand.

Our libraries, under spelling reform, will become

84 SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FROM

antiquated, but only a little faster than they are now doing and always have done. Readers who care for a book over ten years old are few in number and will not mind antiquated spelling in the future any more than they do now. The printer, therefore, must not flatter himself with the prospect of a speedy reprinting of all the English classics under spelling reform. English is certain to have some day as scientific a spelling as Spanish, but the change will be spread over decades, and will be too gradual to affect business appreciably. On the other hand, he need not fear any loss to himself in the public's gain of the annual hundred million dollar tax which it now pays for the luxury of superfluous letters. Our printers bills in the future will be as large as at present, but we shall get more for our money.

It will indeed be to the English race a strange world in which the spelling-book ends with the alphabet; in which there is no conflict of standards except as regards pronunciation; in which two years of a child's school-life are rescued from the needless and applied to the useful; in which the stenographer has to learn not two systems of spelling, but only two alphabets; in which the simplicity and directness of the English language, which fit it to become a world language, will not be defeated by a spelling which equals the difficulty of German grammar; in which the blundering of Dutch printers, like 'school,' false etymologies, like 'rhyme,' and French garnishes, as in 'tongue,' no longer make the judicious grieve; and in which the fatal gift of bad spelling, which often accom-

THE PRINTER'S STANDPOINT. 85

panies genius, will no longer be dependent upon the printer to hide its orthographic nakedness from a public which, if it cannot always spell correctly itself, can always be trusted to detect and ridicule bad spelling. But it is a world which the English race will some day have, and which we may begin to have here and now if we will.

HARRY LYMAN KOOPMAN.

A NEW IPSWICH BOOK OF 1548.

IT was my fortune last March, while looking through some volumes of 'Tractus' in the Library of Clare College, to light upon an Ipswich book, which has so far escaped the notice of students of the history of early printing in the provinces. The book is entitled 'A Plaister for a Galled Horse,' and is an attack upon the Roman Catholics in rhyming verse by John Ramsey. It is curious that there is no notice of this work in the article upon the author in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' although another edition was published at London in 1548 by Raynalde, and is described in Hazlitt's 'Bibliography of Old English Literature,' p. 496. The new Ipswich edition is dated 1548, and is from the press of John Oswen, who migrated to Worcester at the end of that year. He has hitherto been credited with nine books printed at Ipswich. The following is a bibliographical description:

Title [within a border of seven woodcuts]:

A Plaister for a galled Horse. | Loke what here in
shalbe redde | Wynse at nothings excepte ye be gylyt |
For of usurped power we be not adredde | But god to be
knowē, before preceptes fylthy | We speake not against
Gods holy mystery | But against suche, as loue neyther
God nor theyr kynge. | Beware therfore ye knowe not

your desteny | Loke better to the Scripture the worde
 everlasting. | Prouerb. 26 | Unto the horse belongeth a
 whippe, To the Asse a Brydle, & a rodde to the fooles
 backe. |

Yf this playster be to colde
 Ye shall haue another be bolde
 Thintent is to cure and edyfy
 So it is sayde, by Jhon Ramsy.

M D XLVIII

A¹; 4 leaves.

1^a, Title; 1^b, at top panel woodcut, and under title 'The
 study of popyshe Priestes,' a square woodcut; 2^a-4^b, Text;
 4^b, Colophon, Imprinted at Ippyswitche by me Jhon
 Oswen.

Most of the cuts used for the border of the title
 I have succeeded in tracing. The panel at the top
 and the two at the bottom of the title-page all
 appear again in the Book of Common Prayer,
 printed by Oswen at Worcester, 23rd May, 1549
 (No. 5888 in the University Library Cambridge
 List of Early Printed Books). The top piece can
 be easily recognized by the figure of a snail at one
 corner. Like the others, it is a floral design, and
 there is also a figure of a bird.

It appears also, together with the floral panel on
 the right of the title, in a book printed by Oswen
 at Worcester in 1553 (U.L.C.E.P.B., No. 5892,
 'A Homily to be Read in the Time of Pestilence').

The right-hand border appears divided in No.
 5887 of the Cambridge list ('A Consultorie for all
 Christians.' Worcester, 1549, Printed by John
 Oswen). The upper of the two bottom panels
 (human figure and floral design) appears in 'A

Short Treatyse, etc.' Ipswich. John Oswen, no date (B.M. 1109, U.L.C.E.P.B. 5879).

The top-piece on page 1^b appears in No. 5888 of the Cambridge list, the Prayer Book mentioned above, and the block seems to be quite new from the clearness of the impression in the Ipswich book. This leaves only the left-hand title panel unidentified.

The title of the woodcut on page 1^b is in a large black letter, and the cut itself, which I have not been able to trace, shows a priest and, apparently, a young noble engaged in a game of backgammon.

The catalogue number of the volume of 'Tractus' in which this book is bound is Aa 7. 19 in the Clare Library. It contains another Ipswich book, on which I append a note, and other later Tudor tracts, political and ecclesiastical, mostly printed at London. The volume was apparently bound late in the seventeenth century, and is indexed on the fly-leaf by a hand of that date. It possibly formed part of the collection of Dr. Theophilus Dillingham, Master of Clare Hall. On the two Ipswich books the signature of Thomas Colborne appears several times, but of him I know nothing at present.

The other Ipswich book bound up with the one described was also printed by John Oswen. It is a copy of Peter Moore's 'Shorte treatyse of certayne thinges abused. In the Popish Church long used' (B.M. 1109), U.L.C. Catalogue of E.P.B., No. 5879. This book is undated. Another edition was printed in London by Copland. The Clare copy is a quarto of eight leaves, and is no doubt identical with the copy in the British Museum.

It is in itself a very rare book, and it is particularly interesting in connection with a fragment (two leaves) of the same work, which are in the Cambridge University Library, catalogued Syn. 7. 5514. Mr. Sayle had previously suggested that these two leaves were from a copy of this Ipswich edition, but we have compared them carefully, and it is clear that they are distinct. I have since found, through the kindness of Mr. R. E. Graves, who has secured for me a collation of the Britwell copy, that the University Library fragment is from a copy of the London edition. It is taller than the Clare copy, but that, of course, has been cut. Apart from this, the pagination and the spelling are different, the marginal summaries are differently spaced, and the Clare book has Arabic for Roman numerals in references. The type also is different, the University Library fragment having a long tail to its capital T and a rounded W.

F. G. M. BECK.

SOME DEALINGS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT WITH THE PRESS.

BY its ordinances of March and June, 1643, the Long Parliament first appointed searchers for presses employed in printing what it considered scandalous pamphlets, and subsequently revived the licensing system in a form which drew down the scornful defiance of Milton in his 'Areopagitica.' These enactments and their consequences are familiar to most students of literary history. The action of some of the frequently changed Committees of Printing in dealing more directly with authors and printers who incurred the wrath of the Presbyterian majority is much less well known, and some instances of it may be found interesting. The first to be mentioned was no great matter, and had not much result. On 12th July, 1641, the Committee was asked to deal with three books, 'A Protestation Protested,' 'The True Relation of the French Embassage,' and 'The Brownists Conventicle.' In connection with the first, George [? Gregory] Dexter was discovered to be the printer, and was committed to the Gatehouse, and not released until August. In the other two instances, the printers seem to have escaped detection.

A much more serious matter engaged the attention of the House on the following day (13th July, 1641). It appears that when the Bill for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford came on for its final reading, Lord George Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, spoke against it, declaring that the chief article of the indictment not having been proved, he was unable any longer to support the Bill. The speech, though honest and temperate, gave great offence to the majority. When it found its way into print, the House passed a string of resolutions declaring that it contained matters untrue and scandalous, that its publication was also scandalous, that Thomas Purslowe the printer was a delinquent for printing it, and that the pamphlet should be burnt by the common hangman. Accordingly bonfires were made in various places of such copies as could be got together. Many, however, escaped the flames, and the British Museum has several copies, one of them George Thomason's, with his note that the burning took place on the 15th July. What was done to Purslowe, beyond making him a delinquent, is not known.

The next case is that of Richard Herne. On the 24th August in the same year it was reported to the House that Nicholas Bourne, one of the Wardens of the Company of Stationers, had, by virtue of a warrant from the House, searched the premises of this printer, and found him printing a scandalous pamphlet called 'The Anatomy of Et cœtera.' When the Warden was about to seize it, Herne threatened to be the death of any one who laid their hands upon his goods, admitted the print-

92 SOME DEALINGS OF THE LONG

ing and said he would justify it, and that he would do somewhat else, and justify that too. Further, he did his best to wrest the order of the House of Commons out of Bourne's hands. This most uncomfortable man for an unhappy Warden to tackle stated that he had the book of one Richard Harding, who had obtained it of Thomas Bray, an Oxford scholar, who turned it out of poetry into prose. For the publication all parties were brought before the House as delinquents, and in the end Richard Herne was tried by martial law, and his presses handed over to Richard Hunscomb.

A few months later the Committee for Printing were ordered to consider of 'some course for the preventing of the inordinate printing for the future: and for making of some severe examples of some of those printers.' The immediate cause of this resolution was the printing of certain pamphlets concerning the French Ambassador, one of which bore the title of 'A Duel between Sir Kenelme Digby and a French Baron,' and had a curious if not elegant cut on the title page.

On the 8th June following, a pamphlet entitled, 'A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scots and English Forces in the North of Ireland,' was brought to the notice of the House, and two stationers, Francis Coules and Thomas Bates, were sent for, and declared that a printer named Robert White had brought the copy to them and offered to sell them the impression. They were committed as prisoners to the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice was ordered to proceed against them as publishers of false news, and the book itself was

to be burnt at the hands of the common hangman in New Palace Yard. This was done so effectually that no copy of the pamphlet is among the Thomason collection, although there is one of the same year with the following title: 'A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Armie now in Ireland, By Three Letters, etc. . . . Printed for John Bartlet 1642.' This, however, cannot be the one condemned to the flames, or Bartlett would certainly have been mentioned in the proceedings before the House, and, moreover, Thomason would almost as certainly have recorded the fact of the pamphlet having been burnt. But he does not do so, and neither is Bartlett mentioned in any way. The letter (one only is mentioned) was written by one Pike to Tobias Sedgewick, a barber in the Strand, and White, the printer, confessed that he had received it from Sedgewick and had taken it to the stationers Coules and Bates, who thereupon hired him to print three reams of paper, and gave him eighteen shillings for the work. After this White also was committed to the King's Bench Prison, but after a week's imprisonment all parties were released from custody.

Another publication that aroused the Commons to indignation was a folio sheet called 'A Declaration, or Resolution of the County of Hereford.' A certain Mr. Maddison being in a stationer's shop, his eye fell on the 'Declaration,' and he expressed his opinion audibly that the author ought to be whipped. Sir William Boteler, a Royalist, happened also to be in the shop, and overhearing the remark, retorted that Mr. Maddison ought to

94 SOME DEALINGS OF THE LONG

be whipped for saying so, and that he (Sir William Boteler) would justify every word in the Declaration. He was ably seconded by a Mr. Dutton, a minister, who was present also. Maddison reported the matter to the House, by whom this sheet was described as the 'foulest and most scandalous pamphlet that ever was published against the Parliament,' and not only were Sir William Boteler and Mr. Dutton committed to the Gatehouse, but a certain Mr. Venables, a member of the House, was fined £500 for his share in the matter. Some copies of this sheet bear the imprint, 'Imprinted at London by a printed copie, 1642,' while others have 'London: for Tho. Lewes' 1642.'

After this we hear of no more proceedings until early in the following January, when the common hangman and the bonfire were again called into requisition to destroy a publication called 'A Complaint to the House of Commons,' and the printer Luke Norton, and the stationer Mr. Sheares, were thrown into Newgate for their share in the work. Sheares had previously been in trouble for printing 'Leicester's Commonwealth,' and this time he remained a close prisoner for many months. The 'Complaint' is another pamphlet not to be found in the Thomason collection.

After the Civil War broke out the Parliament found it necessary to pass the well-known ordinances already mentioned, and we hear of no cases of action by the House of Commons itself for some considerable time. In 1646, however, several publications were brought under its notice, mostly pamphlets concerned with the attitude of Parliament towards

the Scottish Commissioners. On 29th January a Committee, which was already sitting to consider a letter from the Commissioners, was ordered to discover the author of a pamphlet called 'Truth's Manifest.' Accordingly on 31st January, two witnesses were examined, John Parker, warden of the Stationers' Company, and Joseph Hunscomb. Parker deposed that the book was licensed by Mr. James Crawford, one of the appointed licensers for books of divinity, while Hunscomb declared that the copy was entered in Robert Bostock's name, that when it was printed a difference arose about the price, and Buchanan sold the whole impression to George Thomason. Bostock, whose name appears on the book as its publisher, when examined, deposed that in the previous July or August, Buchanan had brought him the book of about four or five sheets, and gave it to him that it might be licensed.

Perhaps because of the introduction of the name of the eminently respectable Thomason, nothing much seems to have happened in this case. The Committee's report, declaring that David Buchanan was the author, was not brought up till 13th April. Buchanan was ordered to attend, and the book was condemned to be burnt. But the bonfire was never lighted, and we do not hear of anything being done to Buchanan or to any one else concerned in the case. Nevertheless, the narrative is interesting, for two editions of this book are in the British Museum. One of these has the title:

A short and true Relation of divers main passages of things (in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned) from the very first beginning of these unhappy

96 SOME DEALINGS OF THE LONG

Troubles to this day. Published by authority. London. Printed by R. Raworth, for R. Bostocke at the King's-Head in Paul's Church-yard 1645.

This is an octavo of eight leaves of prefatory matter, and one hundred and four printed pages, and was dated by Thomason 'Sept. 14th.'

The title of the other reads:

Truth, its Manifest, or a short & true Relation of divers main passages of things (in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned) from the very first beginning of these unhappy Troubles, to this day. Published by authority. London. Printed in the year 1645.

This edition, also an octavo, consists of eight leaves without pagination, and one hundred and forty-two numbered pages.

Thomason's copy has a note in his handwriting on the fly-leaf, 'N.B. Larger and different from the former,' and he added the date on the title-page, 'Novemb 12th.'

The two editions agree closely for the first thirty-three pages of text, after which 'Truth its Manifest' is full of vigorous passages not contained in the other edition.

This was not the only publication for which Robert Bostock had to answer about this time. He issued on 11th April a printed book with the title, 'Some papers of the Commissioners for Scotland given in lately to the Houses of Parliament concerning the Propositions of Peace.' Two days later the matter was brought up in the House, the author was declared to be an Incendiary between the two kingdoms, and Bostock and his wife, a servant named Harrison, and a printer named Bell,

were all examined. Further than this a conference was held between the Lords and Commons, the outcome of which was that a portion of the book, entitled 'The State of the Questions concerning propositions for Peace,' was ordered to be burnt between twelve and one o'clock on the following day at Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside, the Royal Exchange, Palace Yard, and Tower Hill. If the title entered in the Journals was correct,—and as it adds the imprint, it appears to have been a copy of the title-page,—this must also be added to the books which Thomason failed to rescue.

Nor was it always the publications of the day which occupied the attention of the House. Occasionally an author's writings were brought up against him, when he might well have hoped that they were forgotten. An instance of this occurred in 1650, when a member of the House, Mr. John Fry, found himself called upon to answer for the publication of two tracts, one of which had been printed as far back as 1647. In his examination about the matter the printer mentioned that it was the custom of the trade to destroy the copies of all pamphlets as soon as they had been printed and corrected. He further said that the usual number of copies in an edition of these pamphlets was one thousand, of which the author was allowed six or a dozen.

Other instances of the dealings of this Parliament with the press could be quoted, but they would not alter the impression that they were neither very effective nor very dignified, and perhaps these examples may suffice.

H. R. PLOMER.

X.

H

LUDWIG HOHENWANG'S SECOND PRESS AT BASEL.



F the earlier productions of Ludwig Hohenwang only the 'Summa Hostiensis' of 1477 and the 'Asinus Aureus' are signed with his name; he was formerly classed as an Ulm printer, on the strength of his supposed identity with the Ludwig of Ulm, who printed a block-book; later he was removed to Augsburg on the evidence afforded by the colophon of the undated German version of Rampegollis' *Biblia Aurea*: 'Hie endet die guldin bibel gedruckt zu Augspurg,' printed in the same type as the two books which bear his name. His known output, as detailed in Dr. Burger's Index, consists of a calendar of 1477, a calendar of 1478, Lucian's 'Asinus Aureus,' undated, Henricus de Segusio's 'Summa Hostiensis,' 1477, Ludolphus de Suchen's 'Weg zum Heiligen Grab,' and the 'guldin Bibel,' both undated, and Innocent III.'s 'Orationes pro sacrarum literarum intelligentia impetranda,' signed and dated 20th November, 1487, but without mention of place. These last four books are represented in the British Museum collection of incunabula, and, except the 'Orationes' of Innocent, are printed in Proctor's type 1 (20 lines = 123 mm.). Proctor, for obvious reasons, assumed in his Index a 'second press' for the

'Orationes,' separated as this book is by nine years from the earlier group of dates, but retained Augsburg as the place of printing. The unlikeness of both the type and the woodcuts to the usual Augsburg models led to a closer examination, which showed that the calendar prefixed to the text was designed for the use of the diocese of Basel. Of this there can be no doubt, as not only is the feast 'Heinrici imperato' printed in red for 13th July, but against 11th October we find, also in red, 'Dedica ecclesie ba,' agreeing with the 'Dedicatio ecclesie Basiliensis,' of the Basel Missal of 1488. A reference to M 21 of Dr. Haebler's 'Typen-repertorium' revealed the identity of the type with Michael Wenssler's Basel type 11, both in face and measurement (20 lines = 77 mm.). Wenssler used the type throughout the imposing series of legal folios which he printed in 1486, and in the 'Justinian' of 7th July, 1487, but, as far as the Museum collection shows, not before, and only once after, in some of the signatures of the 'Graduale Romanum' which Wenssler printed for Jacobus de Kirchen, 12th March, 1488, for which purpose an odd handful of type would be ample. It is therefore extremely probable that Wenssler discarded this type in the course of the year 1487, and that thereupon it passed, at all events in part, into the hands of Hohenwang, now setting up as a printer in the same city. There is a discrepancy between Dr. Haebler's text, where the measurement of the type (type 2) is given as 119/20 and the M as M 13, and his M-tables, where measurement and M are correctly set forth as above, Dr. Haebler himself

100 HOHENWANG'S SECOND PRESS.

pointing out in a footnote that the type is not that described as type 2 in the text. Whether Hohenwang should in fact be credited with three types instead of only two is, on the evidence of the Museum collection, impossible to determine. The Museum copy of the 'Orationes' appears to be unique, as Hain did not know the book, and Dr. Haebler remarks under M 21: 'Nähere Angaben fehlen.' It may be added that Peter Drach's (Speier) type 9, in use in 1486-8, is almost or quite indistinguishable from the Wenssler-Hohenwang type, except that an inverted semicolon (:) is used as a stop in one of the Drach books at the Museum.

No other record appears to have been preserved of Hohenwang's whereabouts between 1478 and 1500, but A. F. Butsch ('Ludwig Hohenwang kein Ulmer sondern ein Augsburger Drucker,' München, 1885) mentions that he was working as an editor for the printer Jacob von Pforzheim at Basel in 1506, who prefixed to his edition of 'Alberti Magni scripta in IV libros sententiarum' of that year a panegyric on Albertus composed by Hohenwang.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

PRINTERS AND BOOKS IN CHANCERY.

THE following notes have been taken from Proceedings in the Courts of Chancery and Requests. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, William Seres was granted a patent (Rot. Pat. 1 Eliz., p. 4, m. 26. Printed Arber II. 61) to print and publish the book of Private Prayer. In a bill of complaint, dated 24th November, 1566, he sets forth the terms of the above patent, and informs the Court that the Wardens and Assistants of the Stationers' Company had discovered that Abraham Veale had printed about 3,000 copies of the Private Prayers, being cognisant of the terms of the Letters Patent. Veale, on being examined by the Wardens and Assistants, was ordered to pay £10 to Seres as an indemnity. Veale has refused to do so, and Seres, having no bond from him to stand to the award of the Wardens and Assistants, asks that a writ may be directed out of Chancery, as he is barred by this omission from appearing in the Courts of Common Law. Evidently the Wardens and Assistants had no power to enforce payment of their awards except by recourse to legal aid. Mr. Duff, in his 'Century of English Book Trade,' tells us that Veale turned over his

printing office to William How in 1566. Perhaps this case has some bearing on that fact.

* * * * *

A case in which Dr. Dee figures is of some interest. Dee, on leaving for the Continent in the autumn of 1582, gave all his goods into the keeping of Nicholas Fromonde, a relative by marriage (D. N. B. and Dee's 'Diary.' Ed. by J. O. Halliwell-Philips). This is the bill of complaint of Andreas Freemorsham, bookseller and factor to the heirs of Arnold Brukman, deceased (the celebrated printer and bookseller of Cologne. See E. Gordon Duff, 'A Century of the English Book Trade'), and factor to him in his lifetime. He has sold books in London for years as factor of the said Arnold, who was a foreigner; amongst others, John Dee, late of Mortlake, Surrey, gent, purchased books, in divers tongues, to the value of £63. Dee desired Fromonde to pay Freemorsham the sum of £63 14s. 8½d., but Fromonde has refused to do so, despite several requests. Fromonde, of course, denies liability, on the 9th November, 1582, and on the 18th November, 1582, and 31st January, 1583, respectively, there are replications of complaint and defence. Up to the present the decrees have not been found, so there our information ends.

* * * * *

The complaint of Richard Griffith, of Kardegocke, co. Anglesea, gent, dated 14th June, 1588, tells us that Thomas Chaire, citizen and bookbinder of London gave him a bond for payment of £10 during Easter of the same year. The bond having been lost, or, as he suspects, stolen, is in

the hands of defendant or some friend of his, so Chaire refuses to pay the £10. Further, Lawrence Aberall, a servant to Chaire, out of friendliness to Griffith, gave him 'The historye of the late troubles in Fraunce wrytten by one Popelinier,' and gave it in loose leaves. The book was bound in two volumes, at a cost of 2s. 6d. In May last, Chaire meeting Griffith in St. Paul's Cathedral accused him of stealing the book, and demanded its return. To prevent a disturbance of the peace Griffith consented to return it on condition that the cost of binding was refunded. Chaire agreed to repay this, but demanded a pledge. Upon this 40s. in gold was given to him, he promising to repay it with the 2s. 6d. when the book was returned. The book has been offered several times, but Chaire refuses to take it back again, and retains the 40s.

* * * * *

In the case of *Brown v. the executors of Henry Middleton*, described as stationer, and elsewhere spoken of as scrivener and printer of St. Dunstan's, near Temple Bar, Robert Robinson, aged 37, stationer of St. Andrew's, Holborn, deposes that he bought three printing presses, with sundry sorts of letters and other necessities, certain copies of books and certain Letters Patent, from the widow Jane, now wife to Richard Ayres, for £200. This deposition is dated 7th November, 1591, and is signed by the deponent. On the 19th October, 1591, Thomas Newman, aged 29, of St. Dunstan's in the West, London, stationer, deposes that Middleton had a lease of the house he died in for thirty-eight years. The lease was sold to Mr.

Cave of the Chancery, and Newman bought the shop and books in it for £150. On the same date Thomas Besey desposes that the lease was sold for seven or eight score pounds, and that Middleton's household goods were worth more than 100 marks. On 16th February, 1591, John Danwood, of St. Dunstan's in the West, gent., deposes that he was present when Middleton made his will, and that he said on his deathbed that Richard Brown owed him £30 for printing of indentures for licences to sell wines, for which he had Brown's man Machyn's hand. Walter Dight, of St. Bride's, stationer, aged 26 or 30 years, deposes to being sent by Jane Middleton to collect the £30, and that Brown told him all his money was employed in the Low Country. Robert Machyn, of St. Clement's, county Middlesex, gent., 40 years old, was servant to Richard Brown for fourteen years, and knows that Brown owed Middleton 100 marks for certain printed indentures—'800 payer of certain tripartite endentures.' Middleton's executors seem to have been successful in an action brought by them against Brown for payment of the £30, and these depositions are the result of an appeal by him on the ground that he had already paid it.

* * * * *

On the 25th June, either of 1594 or 1595, in an action brought by him against Kenelm Nele, of London, gent., Roger Ward, of London, stationer, tells us that he brought certain printing letters and four pair of cases to contain the same from the abovesaid Kenelm for £7.

* * * * *

Some supplementary facts to Mr. Plomer's article on the Latin Stock are afforded by a decree in Chancery of the 29th May, 1639. It appears that in Trinity Term, 1637, George Cole, George Swinhowe, Edmund Weaver, Adam Islip, John Harrison, John Rothwell, Emanuell Exall, Nicholas Browne, Robert Mead, John Beale, John Hoth, Edward Brewster, Miles Flesher, John Wright, Robert Younge, William Crawley, George Miller, John Grismond, John Haviland, and George Latham, citizens and stationers of London, on behalf of themselves and other stationers of London, being co-partners in the buying and selling of the Latin Stocks, exhibited a bill in Chancery against Jane Lucas, then widow, the relict and executrix of Martin Lucas, gent., deceased; formerly relict and executrix of John Bill, gent., deceased, and now wife of Sir Thomas Bludder, knight. This bill shows that the complainants bought from Bonham Norton and John Bill, then of London, stationers, since deceased, 'sundry parcels and great quantities of Latin books,' and satisfied their demands in full. The complainants yearly bought a great stock of Latin books; some were sold in England, others by their agents abroad. They sold books to Bill for his own proper and particular use, and on casting up accounts about 14th July, 1627, it appears that Bill owed them for books and binding (with £17 6s. he had received from one Mr. Hart for them), a sum of money amounting to £567 2s. 11d. As this was Bill's private account, they took his bond for it, and still went on making payment to Norton and Bill for the Latin books

they had bought from them. Bill died about 1631, and left Lucas one of his executors. Lucas did not deny liability, but was dilatory in payment. He married Jane Bill and died before payment had been made, leaving her sole executrix; she denies all knowledge of the debt and says it was paid in Bill's lifetime, and as she has the bond, which had been lost by the complainants, as well as all Bill's books of account, and also the complainants' books of account relating to their transactions with Norton and Bill, the complainants can only sue in Chancery. The defendant Jane appeared on 10th July, 1637, pleaded the Statute of Limitations (21 James I), and denied knowledge of the debt. After being heard on the 4th November, 1637, and 8th and 16th May, 1639, judgment was given for complainants on 29th May, 1639.

ROBERT LEWIS STEELE.

REVIEWS.

Prince d'Essling. Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e. Tome II. Florence, Leo S. Olschki; Paris, librairie Henri Leclerc.

THIS second volume of the Prince d'Essling's great work is as thorough, as liberally illustrated, and as erudite as its predecessor, which was reviewed in 'THE LIBRARY' a year ago. The Prince knows the illustrated books not only of Venice, which form his special subject, but of Florence and the other towns of Italy where woodcutters flourished, and of Germany and France. He is thus able to show the models by which the Venetian illustrators were occasionally influenced, and has a keen eye for any marks of foreign origin in Venetian work, or what passes as such. A pretty instance of the working of this cultivated instinct may be seen in the account given in the present volume of two editions of Diomedes' 'De arte grammatica,' each with a woodcut border, capital, and small picture of a pupil kneeling before a laurel-crowned sage, who presents him with a book. The ultimate origin of this picture in each case is the frontispiece to the 'Verona Aesop' of 1479, which, with the liberality of illustration which

doubles the value of the Prince's work, is reproduced along with the two copies. The colophon of the first of these reads, 'Impressum Venetiis per Christophorum de Pensis de mandelo Anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi MCCCCLXXXI. Die uero iiii. mensis Iunii'; that of the second 'Impressum Venetiis Anno .M.cccclxxxiii. mensis Martii die X.' Of the illustrated page in this latter the Prince writes, 'l'ornementation de cette page nous parait d'origine plutôt milanaise que vénitienne,' a remark which we duly noted, but without attaching much importance to it till chance threw the book itself in our hands. Its accuracy was then very convincingly justified, for after a little investigation it became certain that this edition of Diomedes, despite its colophon 'Impressum Venetiis,' was really printed at Milan by Leonhard Pachel in his type 10. The same type was used a little more than three weeks later in a 'Iustinus,' also with 'Venetiis' in its imprint (Hain 9652), but which Proctor (P. 5995) had no hesitation in assigning to Pachel. The verification may thus be considered complete.

The most important heading in this second volume, which comprises the books whose first illustrated edition was published during the years 1491 to 1500, is that of the Breviaries, which were printed at Venice in great numbers, not only 'ad usum Romanum,' but for many of the religious orders and several of the dioceses of northern Europe. Though not such fine books as the Venetian Missals, to which the Prince d'Essling has devoted a separate monograph on a sumptuous scale, the Breviaries have numerous illustrations which are here tabu-

lated so that it is easy to see at a glance the pictures contained in any edition, and for which editions any given picture was used. Only one other heading in this volume approaches this in length, that devoted to the *Legendario dei Sancti* of Jacobus de Voragine. In connection with a woodcut in the 1505 edition of this, representing the miraculous cross preserved in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Venice, the Prince surpasses himself in generosity by giving photogravures not only of the cross itself, but of several pictures by Sebastiani, Mansueti, Gentile, Bellini, and Carpaccio, representing its dedication, processions in its honour, and the miracles which it was believed to work. Like its predecessor, this volume greatly impresses us with the range and variety of the styles of illustration in use at Venice during the period which it covers. Considering the extent of the Venetian book-trade at this period, the variety in itself is not surprising, but no previous work had given any idea of its extent. Prince d'Essling shows us everything, and seems to leave nothing for any successor to add to what he now publishes as a result of years of unwearying research.

A Short History of Engraving and Etching. By
A. M. Hind. Archibald Constable & Co.

A bibliographer interested in book-illustration can hardly avoid beginning a notice of Mr. Hind's excellent manual by a confession of how small it makes him feel. The rise in value which accrues

to an engraving by being associated with a printed book is indeed remarkable, the supreme instance being the £1,475 given for a shabby copy of the first edition of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' with White's portrait of Bunyan, usually only found in the third edition, prefixed to it in an early and uncorrected state. Whether the portrait really belonged to the book, or had merely been inserted in it, was open to grave doubt, the most favourable supposition being that an original intention to issue it with the first edition had been abandoned owing to the discovery of an error, after leaving its mark on this one copy. In any case, the little print certainly added some £1,200 or £1,300 to the value of the copy, whereas if sold separately its value would hardly have exceeded a couple of guineas. Not many instances are quite as extreme as this; nevertheless, it may safely be said that association with an interesting book multiplies the value of an engraving on an average quite twentyfold, and book-lovers must therefore be prepared to find the plates in which they are specially interested losing, rightly and inevitably, about 95 per cent. of their importance when treated in the course of a general history of engraving. Mr. Hind is only a little less rigorous in this respect than we found Dr. Kristeller a year or two ago, in his 'Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten,' though being an Englishman he naturally does not treat the earlier English engravers with the sovereign contempt which Dr. Kristeller displayed for them. But when the bookman interested in block-books looks to see what Mr. Hind has to say as to the relation

of the 'Ars Moriendi' to the engravings of the Master E. S., he finds only an incidental allusion occupying two lines and a half, and he feels, as has been remarked, rather small. Nevertheless, Mr. Hind finds space to enumerate all the engravings met with in incunabula, and to support the theory that the engraving of an author presenting a work to Margaret of Burgundy only found in the Chatsworth copy of the 'Recuyell of the Histories of Troy' really represents Caxton, and (at whatever date it was inserted in the Chatsworth copy) 'must have been designed to illustrate the book.' In speaking of the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations Mr. Hind should have noted that these are not found in all copies of Mansion's edition of the 'De casibus,' and in his mention of the engravings in the Florentine Dante of 1481 in the sentence 'only the first two, or at least three, are ever found printed on the page of text,' *least* is an obvious slip for *most*. These are the only criticisms we have to offer with regard to the fifteenth century. When we turn to the reintroduction of engraving for book-work about 1540, we find Mr. Hind always trustworthy and a little fuller, and this applies also to the period from 1780 onwards, when native English book-illustration for the first time began to hold its own as against that of any other country. All that he says of the French livres-à-vignettes is excellent, but from the bookman's special point of view it is a little meagre. Possibly some day Mr. Hind may find time to help us in later periods as he has already helped us by the excellent list of English books of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, containing engraved illustrations, which added so much to the value of Mr. Colvin's 'Early Engraving and Engravers in England.' Assuredly the compiler of that list cannot be accused of being indifferent to the wants of bookmen. In his present work, however, Mr. Hind has taken as his subject the whole country of which book-illustration forms only a very small province, and he has mapped it out with a skill which will enable the bookman to see his hobby in its relation to the engraved art of each period very clearly and easily. Thus he has provided not only an excellent consecutive history of engraving under well-selected divisions, but also historical tables which show the relations of the lesser men to the greater, and an annotated list of engravers, with bibliographical references, which will often enable students to obtain more information than the space at his disposal has enabled him to offer himself. We cannot doubt that his work will take its place as an indispensable handbook, and its success will certainly be quickened by the numerous and excellent reproductions with which it is illustrated.

A.W.P.

